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do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lzle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries.

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[66]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ltaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1-3), gûpgûa'ksi (3), and l'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

[66] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath.

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The rewrapping of a man is done by male friends, of a woman by women, but men alone tend the fire. They cover the remains as quickly as possible, all those about crying loudly the while. Little children are kept at a distance. By way of purification, those who tend the corpse leave their clothing out of doors for several days and swim, or bathe in the sweat-lodge. [783]

The house in which the death took place, even that of a child, is burned with its contents.[101] The survivors live elsewhere until, on a remarriage, for instance, a new lodge is built. If the house of a shaman is burned with the regalia it contains, a violent storm springs up in the night, hence they wait for calm weather before setting it afire. It is only safe for an old woman to fire it. When a shaman dies and again when he is cremated, storms rage for two days.

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Strict mourning is enjoined on the spouse of the deceased and his parents. It is quite clear that a son or daughter need not mourn so deeply for a parent. Those who observe the fullest mourning cut their hair short immediately on the death; this is called sla'mĭtk. After the cremation they sweat for five days, go out in quest of a vision, and observe the mourning restrictions throughout the following year.

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The mourner fasts inside the sweat-lodge (spo'kliks) from early morning until sundown during these five days. There are only four sweat-lodges proper to the use of mourners, or rather three. This restriction is so inconvenient considering the scattering of Klamath settlements that I would doubt it, had I not definite assurance from all informants.[102] There are none in the territories of the Pelican bay and Williamson river-mouth people. The three lodges are semi-subterranean, of timber and rock construction, and earth-covered. These are said to be the gift of Kĕmŭ'kŭmps, the culture hero. A very small one stands a mile and a half north of Klamath Agency.[103] A second is on the south side of a point called waḳa'ḳsi, near Odessa on the western side of Klamath lake.[104] The third and largest is on the hillside at the angle of the marsh east of Algoma. The Klamath Falls group have no mourners' lodge but make use of a hot spring at hŏ'kewalks, a mile east of the present Klamath Falls railroad station.

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[101] I was not told of cairns of stones tossed on the spot by passers-by as described for the Modoc (Gatschet, 1:85).

[102] Gatschet also noted three alone (*op. cit.*, 1:xlii, 82, 142).

[103] This may be the one mentioned by Gatschet (*op. cit.*, 1:xxxi) although the name he gives resembles that recorded for site 64.

[104] This is referred to in a tale of Mink and Weasel.

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There they place planks over the spring on which to lie. The common small sweat-lodges are not used in this connection.

The sweat-lodge near Algoma is now in ruins but it was always in need of repair, I was told (fig. 7). It is now a U-shaped wall of stones enclosing an area ten by twenty feet. The walls still stand five or six feet high, composed of thousands of small rocks. The roof was a rough gable covered with dirt. The lodge faces the east, uphill on a rather steep hillside. Stones were heated outside and carried just within the entrance. Air seeped in along the ground at the back or lower side of the lodge, so the mourner would retire there from the heat. A little spring is close by. There were no houses within several miles of this place. The little lodge north of Klamath Agency faces south.

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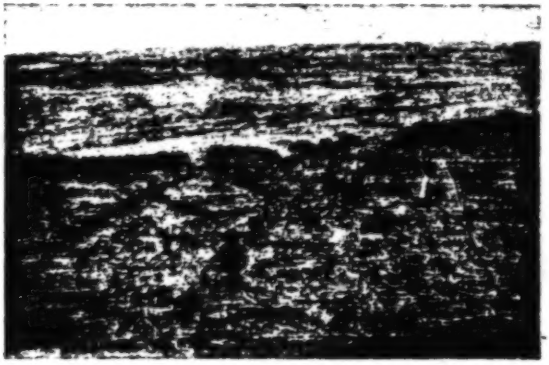

Fig. 7. Mourners' sweat-lodge near Algoma. The nearest man stands in the mouth of the U-shaped structure; the middle figure on the far wall; that to the right beyond it.

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At the end of the five days of sweating the mourner swims in the spirit places in quest of power or seeks it in the mountains. The reason seems to be not alone that he has lost power through his sorrow, but that this is an especially propitious occasion when the spirits will pity him for his grief. One such place is a pair of rocks, Wolf and his wife, north of Modoc point. A man will wrestle with the Wolf rock, his wife with Wolf's wife, in order to become strong and run well.

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During mourning women wear bands of buck-brush or sage-brush around the head, neck, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles like those worn during the puberty dance. The bands are disposed of by wrapping them around trees near the sweat-lodge where they are sometimes collected by those who wish to make cauteries of them. Both parents (or men alone) wear service berry or sage-brush belts like those of girls at puberty, so that the back will not become stooped. For

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a year or longer, pitch is smeared over the face and hair, and black-

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765 539 The following myth brings out some of the mourning practices.[109]

Coyote's wife died. He set out to seek power. He burned up his house and all his belongings. He went along crying: he sang

hä'newa hä'newa bölûkŏ'mhûkdlno'lit

(a cry) It ought be dusk quickly.

He wanted the sun to go down quickly so that he could swim for power. There was a woman sitting by the road. He said, "I do not want a woman. I am crying because my wife died." Again he went on singing hä'newa. . . . .

Next he saw some moccasins on the road. He said, "I am not looking for moccasins. I burned mine when my wife died." He went on singing again hä'newa. . . . .

Now he saw a heap of food on the road ahead. He said, "I am not looking for food. I burned all my food when my wife died." He went on, singing hä'newa. . . . .

Then he came on a pile of ripe plums which had fallen to the ground. There was water there so he washed out his mouth with a handful [as is always done before a meal]. He had his scratching stick at his wrist. He stuck it into the ground and spat into the hole. He said, "This is the way the pse'odiwas (humans) will do."

So he ate, ate, ate the plums until his belly got big. Then he got sick and could not swim. Thus he made the rule that mourning Indians must not eat plums, else they will get sick.

GAMES

525 787 Gamblers seek spirit power for success, men and women alike, by swimming in spirit haunts in the river or in mountain lakes. The first of his gains after receiving this power must be given away, just as he must give them away the first time he plays after the death of his child. This is of a piece with a lad or girl destroying or giving away the first results of their efforts at hunting or root gathering.

777 Luck is also acquired by finding large obsidian blades and certain dead animals; mole, weasel, mink, or frog.[110] Finding the mole is luckiest. "To find anything like this is lucky, so it gives you luck." These must be found dead; there is no use taking a trapped animal, or a recently manufactured blade. The premium put on the obsidian blades is reminiscent of their exaggerated value as symbols of wealth among the tribes of the lower Klamath river.[111] All such lucky objects are bundled in white sage twigs and hidden some distance from the house. This may also be true of the gambling bones; at least Pat Kane keeps his at the crematory several miles from home. I was not

[109] Told by Nancy Phillips.

[110] Gatschet lists as similar Modoc charms, a hummingbird's nest, the leg of a dead frog, a dead mole, a rare "fire-bug," and arrowheads (1:134).

[111] Kroeber, Handbook, 28, 54ff.

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II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spū'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stō'kmôte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (!). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

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An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tzko'tka) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

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One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

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Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sewa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djăkglĕkgĕ'ka). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

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[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

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787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, however, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees something moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be [756] a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[168] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an [539] old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ŋgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ŋgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lɛle'ka. 159 This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century, was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

[168] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:89–94).

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canoe pole and a bow and arrows beside him. Shouting suddenly, they woke him and as he leaped up he seized the bow, thus determining his future life. Running off to Mount Scott he spent the night there. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. In later life he was lucky in everything; much wealth, especially horses, came to him.

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Dreams of the same sort came to men or to old women without being deliberately sought. Should a man have several such visions, he may decide to become a shaman, whereupon he undertakes the customary fire dance of the novice. But if he chooses to ignore them, the power and the opportunity slip away.

Last night I [Pat] dreamed a song: I am nearly a shaman. Yesterday I tried to catch fish but it rained too hard. I then went to town but I could not get what I wanted. So I returned home, ate, and lay down. I dreamed that my horses fell in the mire when I drove near the mountain. I wanted to save them but I could not raise them. I heard a woman's song behind me.

[539]

dje'udjîs snalwăs
feathers all over woman

Helen sna'wăs
[his daughter's name] woman

The fish did not like me; they did not let me catch any. They made the bad dream. This is the same way as a shaman dreams.

Another dream, though not of this type, may be inserted here.

Last night I (Coley) dreamed I was chased by a big, black man; not a Negro, just hard to distinguish. He had nearly caught me when I woke and heard the chickens squawking.

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There is only a slight tendency to the inheritance of the shaman's art. The case cited above where a shaman received spirit songs because his grandfather had an experience is hardly to the point, since these experiences are so common that every shaman must have had a close relative who obtained power. But my informant's statement that when a powerful shaman dies his child may become a shaman is borne out by her own case. His spirits and his clairvoyant powers (dode'ŭks, dreaming) are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them.

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Nancy's father, who died before she was born, was a shaman. When she was quite small and could first understand, she began to dream of Frog, a big woman spirit. Sometimes she would jump up at night and run, afraid of the dream. The spirits persisted in trying to make her accept until she was grown; finally she heard their voices whispering close behind her. She was about twenty and had several children at the time. Her relatives did not want her to become a shaman.

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787 Her older sister (i.e., mother's sister's daughter) gave her medicine so that the spirits would no longer bother her. Two of Nancy's children became sick. A shaman, Alec Wilson, diagnosed their case as due to Nancy's refusal to answer the spirits, to begin the shamanistic performance. Another shaman was called in to relieve her of the spirits. He did it very quickly; he had three or four spirits to lead each of Nancy's "to their side." He used the songs of these spirits immediately, for they were now his. These two spirits were Thunder (ixme'is) and Falcon (xndo'gis). Had Nancy wanted to become a shaman she would have called the people together in order to demonstrate to them in a fire dance.

778 A partial list of spirit places (spũ'tuks) in Klamath territory is gleaned from my notes. As I made little inquiry about the southern and eastern parts of their country, it happens that most of these lie in the north. They are about equally divided between localities in the Cascade mountains and deep eddies of Williamson river. Undoubtedly some of the rocks described as transformed people, animals, etc., are thought of as places where spirits reside, but as I was not told that power was sought there I have not included them in this list.

Ge'wũs, Crater lake. People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.

778 A second site is ma'kwalks, a point of rock projecting over Crater
787 lake from the western cliff. The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.

On the northwestern side of Ghost's Nest mountain, which lies southwest from Crater lake, is a saucer-shaped bed of rocks overlooking the whole countryside. Lads built their fires near-by and lie in this in order to see a spirit. On the eastern side of the mountain are piles of four or five large rocks, erected by seekers.

Ho'tkakõnks, Mare's Egg spring, is six miles north of Cherry creek on the western side of Agency Lake marsh. They swim here at night. Once men found no water in this pool but a big man, with hair covering his body, standing in it. When they returned he had disappeared and the pool again held water.

Pau'usnẽkãs, Harriman (?) mountain southeast of Mount Pitt. The Klamath say this is higher than Mount Pitt; indeed, being nearer, it appears higher. Two accounts pertaining to this mountain may refer to the same incident.

Long ago a Klamath climbed it, but he never returned, for he died of the cold wind although it was summer.

A Pelican bay man, who died long ago, once went to a lake on this mountain at sundown to seek power by swimming. He saw men in it, the backs of some,

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the heads of others. He was frightened and did not swim but went home. As soon as he started home the thunder began to roll; it pursued him all the way. He was afraid of it, so he jumped into Klamath lake. He sat in the water for a long time before the thunder left him. He became a shaman because of this; he had the thunder spirit in him and sang the thunder song. Finally people killed him because he became so powerful that they feared he would kill them with his spirit. 778 787.

Stŏ'kmŏte, the headland of Eagle Ridge, is on the west side of Klamath lake. Spirit horses live in the lake near the point, as instanced above. 778

North of Modoc point are two groups of rocks. The first, red rocks on the hillside a half-mile from the station, represents a bear's entrails. Two big rocks somewhat farther north and on the plain are Wolf and his wife. When people mourn for a dead child, men go to the Wolf rock to seek power, women to his wife. They seek to be strong and to run well. They wrestle with these rocks. 778 787

There is an eddy in which they swim a mile and a half above the mouth of Williamson river, opposite the cremation pile on the right bank. An otter (k!olt), bearing stripes, is seen in this. Many spirit otters of this sort are seen at ḳ!o'ltamtcĭs, north of Klamath Falls.

A channel cutting through a bend of this river several miles from its mouth is called ḳoḳa'ḳ'ŭt. A man saw a water snake (called to'k̆ĕ) in this place. It was as big as a tree and had two straight, pointed white horns. He told a shaman, who said that, the snake having caught him, he could not be cured. This man died in two days. While this story suggests it, I am not sure that they swim for power here. Another informant stated that at Tcoka'lwas, just above this, is a huge horned snake (wĭsĭŋk, snake generically). Possibly the same one is meant. In a tale the hero Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os cuts the snake's head off. [539]

Wĭtă'mŭmpsi, black bear's place, is at a sharp bend in the lower Williamson river (a mile above the highway bridge) overlooked by a high bluff. Long ago when men came to this place to swim they found no water there. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there," he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman. So people try to get power there now.

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778 K'tai'di, lava, is a cliff of that rock two miles below Chiloquin on
787 the left bank of Williamson river. Seekers slept on this.

Ska'mdi is an eddy in Williamson river above Chiloquin. This is a spirit place but it does not seem that they swim there.

Once I [Pat Kane] and my two brothers camped near there just before sunset. We were on our way to Klamath marsh to pick pond-lily seeds. My oldest brother started a fire while the younger fetched water. I went to tie the horses. When I returned, my brother who had been to the river said, "There are many beaver in there." We took our guns to the spot. Soon a beaver swam close to us, only a few yards away, but we could not hit it. Soon two more came swimming close by. We failed to kill these. Then five came and soon so many more that they completely filled the river. My brothers said, "We had better not stop here. Let us get away." We packed the horses and left at once. I saw the water shaking[180] and the sound of thunder. It took all night to get back. My oldest brother got sick; no shaman could cure him. He was sick all summer and in the winter he died. Neither my younger brother nor I were sick.

A man and boy were going to Klamath marsh afoot. The boy was six or seven. The man wanted to try swimming in Ska'mdi. He told the boy, "If those things bite and kill me, you go home." The man had lost his wife; the boy alone was left. "I do not want to stay here; I want to die," the man said. The boy cried to him not to swim there. He walked back from the river bank, ran and plunged in. Big animals reached up and bit him. They came up twice; then he appeared no more. The boy saw it and wept. He started home; it took all night for him to reach Bexükse'was below Chilequin. At this place the water boils and cannot move down the river. No one can swim there; something always bites and kills them.

SPIRITS, SOULS, AND GHOSTS

776 There is hardly a mile of Klamath territory but has its mythical reference. Everywhere there are personages of the folk-tales, now transformed to rocks by Crow's laughter. Spirits are legion and in many cases are localized, so that one looking over the countryside finds it rich in religious connotation. But despite its comparative richness, Klamath religion is quite unsystematized. There are no deities and the spirits as such hardly figure in the tales. Most of the actors of the tales are not spirits and this is especially true of the principal ones. There is little suggestion of any fixed relation between such as do figure there. In other words, the Klamath lack all architectural feeling in conceiving their religious beings.

774 Spirits form a uniform class; no one of them can be said to be
775 especially more important than any other. Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits. Spirits

[180] It is conceivable that an earth tremor dislodged the beaver.

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775 Last month an old woman, who was very sick, was left alone. As she lay there
763 she saw ghosts. They caught her; she died. When her children returned she was dead. Her daughter and grandson rubbed her chest to revive her. She was soon restored except that one ear, which the ghosts had touched, was "closed." Her daughter asked, "What is the matter?" She answered faintly, "The ghosts caught me." Today she can barely talk; her sight and hearing are gone.

775 A Klamath Falls man met a ghost on the trail. It was short and had long
• 787 white nails on hands and feet. The ghost said, "Let us trade nails." The man said that he could not take his off. The ghost said, "I can pull them out," and exchanged nails with him. The man went home with the long nails and went to bed. When he woke, he looked at his hands and feet, but he had his own nails again.

The same man saw ghosts dancing at the cremation place on the hill east of Link river (Klamath falls). He watched them dance all night. They gave him a pipe to smoke. Then they threw firebrands at him and he ran away.

About ten years ago I [Pat Kane] had been swimming in the river. I was returning to my home with some horses when I heard crying. I saw an immense fire at the cremation place on lower Williamson river. Men, women, and children were wailing there. I held my hat over my face and did not listen. I did not tell my wife. For three or four days I was sick, so I went into the sweat-lodge. Later I went down there but found no signs of a recent fire.

576 The names of the dead are mentioned rather freely, but no one likes to name his own relatives or hear another do so. In fact, such a reference is insulting. But this is not due to any fear of the dead; it is rather a matter of taste.

775 The land of the dead, No'lĭskăn,[182] lies in the west, the sunset. Everyone goes there. It was created by the culture hero, Kɛmŭ'kŭmps, who made the humans that figure in the tales (called psaudi'was) and ordained that they should go to this land when they died. Nothing is said of the road thither but the characteristics of the land and its people are tolerably well conceptualized.

Everything in the land of the dead is inverted from this living world. The ghosts sleep by day and live at night. In the day there is nothing to be seen but their houses and skeletons. At sundown they are clothed with flesh again; they rise and build fires. They dance through the night to fall asleep when dawn breaks. They feed on swan's eggs and perhaps they do not eat them in the manner of humans, since a tale suggests that Kɛmŭ'kŭmps is fed in the manner of the ghosts; the eggs are thrown at him. Further, the eggs are
[825] unnatural in that they are hot.[183] So far as the Klamath are concerned, swan's eggs themselves are mythical, for while swans cross

[182] I suggest that the word means, literally, land of the departed; compare no'tsna, departed for ——; nutsnots, soul leaves; tcŏ'kăn, service berry land; cā'stĭkăn, country of the Shasta.

[262] [183] Perhaps the Klamath do not eat eggs at all. I neglected to inquire.

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787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ŭks, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[172] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with [753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

[172] Gatschet, 1:21.

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"When the sun is environed by lamb-clouds, or a mottled sky, this is figuratively expressed by: 'K'múkamtch [Kɛmū'kūmps] has taken the beaded garments of Aíshish [his son] and dressed himself in them' A peculiar red smoke or haze appearing in the northwestern or western sky, shnúish, announces his arrival; he is also recognizable by his bulky posteriors, or as the Modocs say of him: 'K'múkamtch múnish kutúlish gítko.' By this they evidently refer to the white and heavy mountain-shaped summer clouds."[215] 821

Frogs come out before the rain, hence this is a sign that a storm is due. When the storm rises, old people cry to it, "You go back to the mountains. We do not want you here." The only precaution against lightning is a burden basket or sieve hung on a high pole outside the house.[216]

When a man sneezes or his ears ring, someone is talking about him, but not necessarily a woman, as elsewhere. If a door opens, someone is coming from a distance.[217] 787

To end the long winter months and hasten the coming of spring, the ring and pin game is played. A proper catch "breaks the month." Or little spears of the hard interior of the tule are thrown into the ground. On the contrary, playing cat's cradles in winter makes the months longer. These beliefs are not seriously held; they are more of the nature of manners of speech. 789

Gambler's luck comes not only through spirit power but by the possession of parts of dead moles, frogs, etc., or obsidian blades. These must have been found, and they are carried to the play, and are kept, like the gaming sticks, at crematories, or at least away from the house. 777

A series of beliefs surround birth and childhood. A storm always blows at a woman's first parturition. The child will cry if the umbilical cord is not tied with the mother's hair. If an animal eats the afterbirth the woman will become barren. She may not eat meat or fish after the birth, must use a head-scratcher and wear a bark belt. The baby is massaged so that it will grow well formed. A girl's cradle is wide so that she will grow broad. The navel cord is saved else the child will die. Sterility is cured by drinking a crushed shell. 844 [784]

A turtle head is hung about the neck to ward off rattlesnakes. It was said that this is the general custom but turtles are found only in 789

[215] Gatschet, 1:lxxiv.

[216] Also recorded by Barrett, Material Culture, 257.

[217] This is said to be a pre-white belief, but the only doors of those days were mats over the earth-lodge hatchways and the flaps of the mat-lodges.

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THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

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However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

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The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his 756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in [372] the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con- 755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

* 171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by 756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

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What is unique, however, is the peculiar conjunction of the elements affected by them. Even the closely related Modoc differ, to judge by what little we know of them.

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By way of orientation it is desirable to survey the situation north and south.[433]

Among the Kwakiutl the guardian spirit is inextricably linked with the hereditary caste system. Rights to a particular guardian are fixed by inheritance, so that the spirits function essentially as badges of clan rank and secret society affiliation. Hence they are few in number. Apart from this, they have definite mythological character, unlike the bird and animal spirits and the few anthropomorphic supernaturals of the Klamath. Acquisition of a guardian is not the relatively random quest of the Klamath, but is definitely fixed with relation to the midwinter ceremonial. The novice, a lad, is sent at this period under the tutelage of an old woman in quest of the hereditary guardian. He returns to the village so strongly imbued with power as to be of danger to himself and others, hence the essential of the ensuing performance is to reduce his ecstasy to a normal state. A potlatch is offered on his behalf. Such individuals, men or women, may become shamans in this manner; only the dances they perform on their return apparently differ from the ancestral dance forms. In a Kwakiutl tale, a man wandering in the woods is initiated by the animals. On his return his overwhelming power is found dangerous and is dulled by contamination with menstruants.[434] During the midwinter sacred period, spirit repossession is general and at the ceremonies all are impelled to display their hereditary spirit songs and dances. The grouping at this time of those having the same spirits is of a piece with the grouping by clans during the remainder of the year. Both groupings rest essentially on names acquired in the one instance from spirits, in the other by clan inheritance, names throughout giving rank and privilege.[434]

The Kwakiutl form of quest, its relation to the midwinter ceremonies, and its social significance are peculiarities which do not prevail south of Vancouver island. Various elements of this complex, however, are found in the area to the south, such as the secret societies as far as the Quinault on the Washington coast, and the winter dance

[433] See also the summaries of Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 16 f.

[434] Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 733–740.

[434] Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies, 393 f., 418 f., 501.

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period even to the Klamath. But this interrelation of spirit quest and secret society ritual, with the social grouping that rests on it, is lacking. The Kwakiutl must be looked on as a highly specialized form of the spirit quest-shamanistic complex, of which the more normal forms, in the sense that they are less differentiated and widely distributed, are found in western Washington and the interior.

As an example of the more common form, I will present that of the Thompson. The Thompson complex[421] is more nearly that of the Klamath but is even simpler. The vision quest, which takes place at puberty, is essentially the prerogative of boys, although girls may obtain some slight powers. Hence shamans are men and but few women. The vision is sought in the mountains where the boy remains praying, dancing, running about, and fasting. His training does not end with the vision, but continues after power has been acquired, the whole being directed toward magical training for adult life. In fact the powers bestowed by the spirits are specifically for particular professions and arts. The spirits are legion: natural phenomena, animals, birds, and a random collection of objects. The seeker sometimes receives power from the same spirit as his father and shamans sometimes directly inherit their powers. It does not appear that the shaman novice establishes himself by a performance of fixed kind, nor do the shamanistic seances, though they include feats like those of the Klamath, occur only in midwinter.

Shamanism in the area to the east of the Thompson must be of this type, and in the Basin southeast it is clearly so.

South of the Klamath the shamanistic complex takes quite another turn. In California power is not ordinarily sought, hence the blessing descends on the few, the shamans, and for the mass there is nothing. This is an about-face from the situation in Oregon and northward, or in the Plains. In other words, power is a thing that comes involuntarily. Further, the form of the complex has in the northern half of California two quite distinct phrasings.

In northwestern California the person destined to be a shaman is visited in a dream by a spirit or ancestor who inserts the power in his body. This power or "pain" is animate, has personality, and is conceptualized as a small spindle-shaped object. Such "pains" are disease objects, yet their possession by shamans gives the power to remove other malignant "pains" from a patient. Accordingly the shaman-to-be is made ill by the "pain" he has received, until he is

[421] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 317 f.

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restored by an established shaman and learns to control the gift. The dance in which this takes place is, as Kroeber remarks, essentially a professional initiation.[456]

For example, the Yurok novice dreams of a dead person putting a "pain" in her body. (In northwestern California, shamans are most frequently women.) A dance is made for her, when under the direction of established shamans, she withdraws the "pain" and having thus shown control of it, swallows it again. After a brief dance in the mountains, this rite is repeated and followed by one around a hot fire to further gain control of her "pains."[457]

The northwest California complex has its ramifications as far north as the Wishram on the Columbia and southeastward to the Southern Maidu. The novice dance is found over this whole area, although in the north being rather a demonstration of power than an occasion for acquiring control of it. The concept of the "pains" as embodiments of power or agents of disease extends eastward across the state. Yet the general aspects of shamanism in northeastern California are appreciably like those of the Klamath and Thompson.

The second form of shamanistic complex is central Californian. Here individual shamanism is overshadowed by group activities of the Kuksu cult ceremonies which are shamanistic at bottom. Some distinction is made between the sucking shaman, who cures in the common manner, and the outfit shaman, whose ability is, rather, clairvoyant. This distinction is also made to the northwest but is by no means impressive. The outfit shaman is usually the heritor of the necessary paraphernalia from a parent or brother who instructs him in their use. His power clearly lies in the objects themselves. On the other hand, the sucking shaman obtains his by a visitation in a dream. Not only are central Californian shamans overshadowed by Kuksu impersonators, to whom has accrued all elaborate display, but the shamanistic complex proper is strongly infiltrated from the northwest.

There is in California at large some further specialization among shamans beyond those who cure. Weather-control shamans seem most clearly differentiated in south-central California, according to Kroeber. The Klamath fall in with the majority of peoples beyond this focus in looking on weather control as only a somewhat specialized function of any shaman. Similarly with rattlesnake shamans, who are general in California save in the northwest. Bear shamans, found in all but peripheral California, are not known to the Klamath.

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[456] Handbook, 852.
[457] *Op. cit.*, 63.

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From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the nortnern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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remarked their presence in the mythology of various Shoshonean groups (Western Mono, Northern Paiute of central Oregon, Northern Shoshoni, and Serrano), pointing out their absence in typical central Californian groups.[483] But they are not confined to Shoshoneans: the Yurok believe in dwarf-like spirits that haunt overgrown spots in the creeks, the Hupa speak of little beings resembling men in the water in remote places, and the foothill group of Northern Maidu of one-legged dwarfs found in or about water.[484] So far as these data go, the concept is largely north Californian and Basin in distribution.

Klamath Dwarf-Old-Woman, who figures in one form as a rock on Mount Pitt, may be identifiable with Takelma Rock Old Woman, associated with a rock north of Rogue river.[485]

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Inheritance of Spirit Power

On the Northwest Coast proper there is a tendency to fixed inheritance of experiences with ancestral guardians. Among the Tlingit, e.g., there is some tendency for men to be blessed by spirits according to their clan affiliations; the spirits descending from uncle to nephew. Among the Kwakiutl, inheritance is rigidly fixed, for a youth expects to find only those spirits that gave powers to his clan.[486]

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Something of this prevails southward but in dilute form. A Quinault seeks the spirit his ancestor acquired, and we are told that the guardians of the Chinook are hereditary, like the Kwakiutl. A Nootka may also inherit a spirit with whom an ancestor had an experience.[487] The southern Puget Sound Salish hold that human social organization is reflected among the spirits; that a powerful spirit would appear only to a man of high rank. While this does not define the system as one of strict inheritance, it must approximate this because both the number of persons of high rank and of powerful spirits is small.

Inheritance of a guardian and of the particular guardian thus prevails generally north of the Columbia river. Elsewhere inheritance is present but in less fixed form. There is for the Thompson seeker

[483] Gifford, Western Mono Myths, 304; Marsden, 183; Lowie, Northern Shoshone, 234; Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 297.

[484] Kroeber, Handbook, 67; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 265.

[485] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 45.

[486] Swanton, 465; Boas, Secret Societies and Social Organization of the Kwakiutl, 393, 418.

[487] Boas, *op. cit.*, 393; Sapir, Vancouver Island Indians, 593.

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the possibility of being visited by the spirit his father had met. Inheritance is apparently common among the Nez Percé; at least shamans inherited their status and one could hardly become a shaman save through inheritance. As the number of spirits that give shamanistic powers is small, it seems probable that the particular spirit is frequently inherited, although it is not so stated. Comparable to this, anyone among the southern Puget Sound Salish might involuntarily receive a blessing from a spirit acquired earlier by an ancestor. For instance, if one's forebear had been a great shaman there was a predisposition to acquire a shamanistic spirit. Rather different from these cases is the case of the Klallam shaman who, dying, may will some of his spirits to a younger man, yet it reflects the tendency toward transmission in this area.[427]

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Inheritance occurs again in northern California, where children of shamans are rather automatically visited by their fathers' spirits. (It must be borne in mind that in this region acquisition of powers sets off shamans from the laity, who do not ordinarily acquire them.) It is intelligible why inheritance does not appear in northwestern California, where a shaman is made, not by the visitation of spirits, but by the insertion of "pains" by established members of the craft. The distribution of inheritance is in the interior: Klamath, Shasta, Chimariko, Pomo, Southwestern Wintun, Maidu, and Paviotso. Inheritance does not appear again, so far as present data show, in all of central and southern California until the Akwa'ala[428] are reached. Inheritance of position is by no means the only way one becomes a shaman even among these north Californian peoples, and the visitation by spirits of one's father is quite limited among them. In other words, there is here little of the rigidity of inheritance known in the northwestern sector.

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Shasta and Northeastern Maidu show the closest approximation to the northwest; if the parent is a shaman, the child becomes one, and the particular spirits are heriditary guardians of the family for generations. Among Northeastern Maidu the succession is inevitable, among Shasta there is some latitude. The Klamath situation resembles the Shasta: a shaman's child is the involuntary recipient of his father's spirits, which he may or may not accept. There is nothing to show that the same spirits continue with successive generations.[429]

[427] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56; Teit, The Thompson Indians, 320; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 297; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247, 256.

[428] Gifford-Lowie, Notes on the Akwa'ala, 345.

[429] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274, 275; Shasta, 471, 477.

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The Sacramento Valley Maidu hold that inheritance is not necessary, while the foothill group of the same people have a greater tendency to inheritance. Among the Chimariko, shamans similarly may or may not inherit their positions. The Paviotso shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son. In these cases heredity is simply one way of achieving shaman's status.[440]

In this second group of cases it seems that susceptibility to experience with spirits is heritable, if not the inheritance of powers from specific spirits, but in a third group the inheritance is that of position and paraphernalia alone. That is, the individual Pomo, or at least the Northern and Eastern Pomo, and the Southeastern Wintun shaman instructs his son, brother, or some other relative and delivers to him amulets and other objects necessary to him as successor. Among the Pomo this is the manner in which "outfit doctors," not "dreaming or sucking doctors," are made.[441] This affiliates with the general habit of instruction of shamans and secret society members in this quarter, where in general the hereditary element is absent.

It seems quite uncertain whether the northern Californian cases as a whole are linked historically with the northwest. Possibly they are, since the hereditary element is lacking in more southerly California. But as the data stand there is a hiatus of distribution in Oregon. On the other hand, there are few Oregonian data save for the non-hereditary Takelma. It seems significant, however, that the Wishram did not mention inheritance in this connection to either Dr. Sapir or myself.

The Power Quest

In a discussion of the vision in the Plains, Benedict points out that there is there a distinction between visions (quests in my terminology) from which sanctions are received, such as the success of a projected war party, and those by which a guardian is acquired. The former are of more frequent occurrence in the life of each individual.[442] Among the Klamath every quest that is successful brings power that abides, not a sanction for a particular project. Every quest corresponds to the specific guardian quest of the Plains, though a guardian in the sense of a familiar is not acquired. So far as

[440] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 269; Chimariko, 303; Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294.

[441] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 59; Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 320; Kroeber, Handbook, 261.

[442] The Vision in Plains Culture, 12 f.

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*171 756 787 guardians or familiars can be spoken of, they pertain to shamans alone, since they alone conjure up their familiars to their aid. But theoretically, every Klamath who has had an experience could call on his spirit for aid.

The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked for assistance (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts and professions or for success and wealth.

*171 756 Accordingly, shamans are differentiated as a class more by their acts and the posession of powers to perform the shamanistic arts, than by the unique possession of helpers. This statement does not apply, however, to California, for there this is precisely the difference between shamans and laity.

787 The Klamath deliberately seek power by self-isolation and mortifying acts. Their attitude is that it is to be had by a voluntary quest, save in those rare instances which may be described as inheritance and in occasional involuntary dreams.

The terms quest, vision, and dream have commonly been used as though they were fully interchangeable. It is preferable to distinguish the voluntary quest and the involuntary acquisition of power; to confine the term vision to sensory experiences including seeing and hearing a spirit, and the dream to its everyday significance. These are, to be sure, by no means mutually exclusive.

*171 787 [114] The quest and the involuntary dream as sources of power have different distributions in western America. The quest is general over eastern North America and in the Plains. But as Kroeber has pointed out for California and Benedict for the Southwest the deliberate quest is absent and its place is usually taken, so far as individual acquisition of power is concerned, by the dream.[113] I will attempt to define their respective areas of distribution somewhat more precisely.

From this point of view a distinction must be made between the eastern and western sections of the Southwestern area. Personal powers figure only in a minor way among the Pueblos, where priestly craft functions in place of shamanism. Yet at Laguna and Cochiti, at least, there is some occasional questing for powers in isolated spots.

[113] Kroeber, Religion of Indians of California, 327 f.; Benedict, The Concept of the Guardian Spirit, 36 f.

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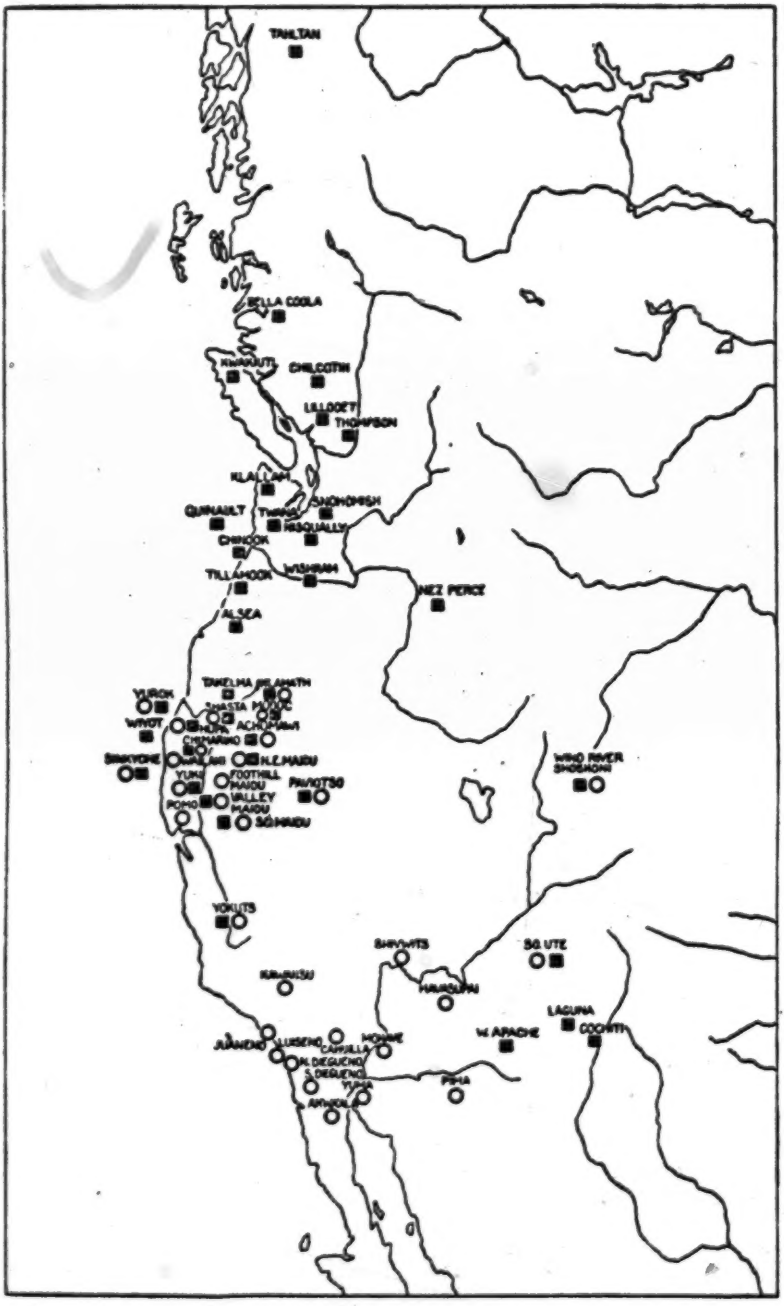

Fig. 22. Distribution of the quest and dream as sources of spirit power in western North America. Squares indicate the quest; circles, the dream.

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At the same time, among the western Apache, who have shamanism full-fledged, those who do not become shamans by the instruction of established practitioners, seek power in the same way.[444]

West of the Apache the dream is the source of power: this is known at least for Havasupai and Pima. Havasupai shamans alone have familiars, which they acquire involuntarily in dreams, and even when they inherit the power it seems necessary that they dream. Pima shamans become such generally by heredity, or by being bitten by a rattlesnake, but they may also have persistent dreams in which they acquire power. Russell makes it clear that this involves no deliberate quest.[445]

Dreaming appears with the same function among the Shivwits, hence may have been general among other Southern Paiute. Prior to the introduction of the Sun Dance among the Southern Ute about 1900, shamans got their powers in dreams without fasting; since then they deliberately seek power in the Sun Dance.[446]

Dreams are the source of supernatural sanctions on the lower Colorado and in southern California alike, despite the difference of setting in the two areas. Mohave, Yuma, Akwa'ala, and Desert Cahuilla shamans derive their powers by dreaming of the great mythological characters, sometimes under the stimulation of jimsonweed, but not as part of adolescence rites. The Cahuilla, indeed, hold the boys' rite but it is reasonably clear that jimsonweed drinking at this, or at other times, does not furnish the setting for acquisition of power. On the other hand the boys' rites provide the proper setting for a majority of southern Californian peoples: the narcotic of jimson weed causing sensory disturbances which are interpreted as dreams of spirit beings, prevailingly animal in character. This is known for both Southern and Northern Diegueño, Luiseño, Juaneño, Kawaiisu, and may be inferred for others. The Kawaiisu, unlike their neighbors, administer jimsonweed regularly to girls as well as boys and with the same end in view. Inasmuch as the candidates for these rites do not present themselves but are selected, we have here a common basis of involuntary dreaming for the region as a whole. This is not to deny that the phrasing of the experience itself is markedly

[444] Benedict, *op. cit.*, 39; Goldfrank, Organization of Cochiti, 58; Bourke, Medicine Men, 453.

[445] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 276 f.; Russell, 257.

[446] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 291.

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different among Mohave-Yuma, Akwa'ala-Cahuilla, and the westerly southern Californians.[447]

The quest on the other hand is characteristic of the northwest. It is of course voluntary and the looked-for response probably always takes the form of a vision. The Klamath are a partial exception, which I will discuss later. The quest has been noted among all tribes for whom there is information: Klamath, Takelma, Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, Wishram, Quinault, Twana, Nisqually, Snohomish, and Klallam. It is at the bottom of the initiation practices of the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola. In the interior, it is characteristic of Thompson, probably Lillooet, Nez Percé, Chilcotin, and Tahltan.[448]

As these data stand the areas of distribution are quite distinct. The voluntary quest is characteristic of the northwest and the Plateau, as well as the Plains; the dream, involuntary in its occurrence, of the western section of the Southwest, southern California, and the southern Basin. On the border common to the two areas they occur concurrently, namely in northern California, southern Oregon, and the northern Basin.

In northern California the dream basis is clear for the Pomo and the Northern Maidu of the foothills, apart from Pomo shamans who are such by initiation alone.[449] There is a suggestion that the Wailaki are one with them.[450] All other groups have some kind of combination of dream and quest.

Northeastern Maidu and Yokuts hold dream and quest equivalents; the Yokuts stressing the quest in contradistinction to the Maidu. Sinkyone, Yuki, and the Sacramento valley group of Northern Maidu differ from them only in that their alternative to the deliberate quest is an involuntary waking experience.[451]

Of the Paviotso, Lowie remarks: "A shaman gets his song and regalia through a vision in a dream. Annie says in the Walker River District there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision."

[447] Kroeber, Handbook, 604, 640, 775 f., 783, 793; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave, 279; Gifford-Lowie, Akwa'ala, 344–5, 347, 348; Hooper, Cahuilla, 334–5, 340; Spier, Southern Diegueño, 312 f.; Waterman, Religious Practices, 296; Du Bois, Religion of Luiseño, 80.

[448] Farrand, Alsea, 245; Boas, Tillamook, 5, Third Report, 10, Chinook Texts, 214; Eells, Indians of Washington Territory, 674; Farrand, Chilcotin, 19; Emmons, Tahltan, 112.

[449] Freeland, Pomo Doctors, 58, 63, 64; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269.

[450] "The Yuki state that the Wailaki shamans often dreamed of a spirit coyote" (Kroeber, Handbook, 154).

[451] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 267, 275, 278; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 196–198, 514.

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This may mean only that the quest is undertaken and that the vision appears in a dream at that time, but I interpret it as meaning that both dreaming without a quest and the deliberate quest occurred among them. His description of the Wind River Shoshoni ideas, is, I think, more convincing as to the simultaneous existence of dreaming and the quest."[222]

Shaman candidates among Yurok, Hupa, and Shasta experience in dreams, but for the laity there are opportunities to acquire power of the quest type. "There are, however, [among the Shasta] one or two very simple ceremonials, whose purpose is merely to acquire luck. For example, on very dark rainy or windy nights, men go out alone, and naked, and walk all night, praying for luck, singing, seeing strange things pass them, and having strange voices calling. Or on very cold nights in the middle of winter, a man will go out just before dawn, and after praying for luck, will plunge into the river, and swim." "The [Hupa] men used to swim a certain course in the icy water [of Trinity river] and then lie on the frozen shore as long as possible that they might win great good luck." "A Yurok man who wishes to be brave and fierce . . . . goes at night to a lonely mountain pond, swims, and is then swallowed or taken below the surface by a monster."[223]

The combination occurring among Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, and Chimariko is most interesting. The regular Klamath formula is that the seeker may have his quest rewarded by a vision, but the power is not obtained at this time. It comes some nights later, when in a dream he hears the spirit's song. I am impressed by the fact that the quest experience and the dream are separated. Indeed the seeker may not have a vision at all. Further, dreams of the same sort, conveying power, come to one unsought. The Klamath notions seem to me most intelligible when considered as the amalgamation of the two kinds of experience. Those of the Northeastern Maidu are explicitly the same: a man on his lonely quest experiences the presence of spirits and on his return they appear to him in dreams. The Achomawi-Atsugewi case seems to be the same: "While he is bathing during the night, he may find something in the water, or may dream of it later when he takes a little sleep." Again the Chimariko seeker is visited in a series of dreams, which were "often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes." Modoc

[222] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, 294–296.

[223] Dixon, Shasta, 489; Goddard, Life of the Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

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ideas are appreciably close to those of the Shasta in that the novice has an involuntary seizure, apparently while at home, but following his inaugural dance, he goes to the mountains in quest of power.[454] 171* 787 • 756

Corresponding to the absence of sharp distinctions between shaman and layman in the northwest, the quest is open to everyone throughout that area. Yet there are some differences with respect to sex. This is measurable in part by the relative number of men and women shamans.

Men are more frequently successful in acquiring power than women and are accordingly more often shamans among the Thompson, Klallam, Quinault, Snohomish, Nisqually, Wishram, and Klamath. The evidence is quite definite on this point. Among the Tillamook and Nez Percé both sexes obtained powers: it is conceivable that men predominated. 171* 787 756 562

The statement that Takelma shamans are equally men and women is perhaps significant in view of the situation to the south. Shasta, Yurok, and Wiyot shamans are chiefly women, with but few men. Goddard merely mentions both men and women shamans among the Hupa, and Dixon among the Chimariko, but Kroeber implies that they were normally women.[455]

Elsewhere in California it seems that men predominated as shamans; specifically Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu and those of the foothills region, Yuki, and Salinan. In southern California, where the equivalent of the shaman is one who has had visions induced by jimsonweed, this situation holds even more stringently because the narcotic is rarely administered to girls. Yet in northeastern California the northwestern emphasis on feminine shamanism is reflected. Dixon observes of the Northeastern Maidu: "There were women shamans as well as men; the former being, however, more numerous in Big Meadows, where the Maidu come nearest in contact with the Achomawi, among whom women shamans were very numerous."[456] Angulo[457] states that their number was about equal among the Achomawi, which is not a contradiction of Dixon. This implies that the Achomawi-Atsugewi and Big Meadows Maidu were both influenced by Shasta custom. Elsewhere here (Yuki and Foothill Maidu) women were rarely shamans.

[454] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 279; Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Chimariko, 303; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[455] Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, 66; Dixon, Chimariko, 303; Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 137.

[456] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 274.

[457] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 564.

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The Period of the Quest

* 171 • 787 The Klamath deliberately seek power both in adolescence and in later life. In the discussion of the Plains vision referred to above, Benedict points out that it is there an affair of maturity and not of adolescence.[459] Everywhere in this area, on the other hand, the quest may take place in adolescence, at a time sometimes varying widely from actual puberty, and in the majority of tribes at any time in later life as well. This is consonant with the difference in the result accruing from the experience. This is as much characteristic of Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Modoc, for example, as it is of the Klamath. The absence of suitable specific data makes it difficult to judge how far this is true of others.

At least among the Wishram and Achomawi-Atsugewi there is a difference; power is sought in youth alone and should the seeker fail then, he has no opportunity in later life. Descriptively the Kwakiutl align with the Wishram, for the novices who acquire spirits at the winter ceremonial of the secret societies are adolescents. Powers are also acquired later but the few references indicate that this is not common. The situation is different, however, for the Kwakiutl does not freely seek the spirit, but automatically acquires it at a time fixed by the round of a predetermined social system. There is a suggestion that the Thompson, Lillooet (who are described as identical with the former), and Nez Percé have their experiences only at adolescence. The Tillamook evidence is equivocal: from the very brief account we learn only that a boy of twenty is sent out.

The situation is different in northern California because of the dream source of power in place of the quest. Nevertheless, this might have been restricted to adolescence, but that seems not to be the case. On the whole, data fail for the region, but our accounts read as though the shaman novices were always adult. To take the Shasta as an instance: it seems unlikely that the novices' experiences would occur to adolescent girls. Such at least is the impression, but we cannot be sure. The quest, open to the laity among Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa, is not restricted to any period in life.

[756] In southern California, where a shaman's career is initiated in the jimsonweed rites, this is an affair of adolescence.

[459] The Vision in Plains Culture, 3.

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The Conduct of the Quest

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Basically the manner of seeking power is the same throughout this area. This is necessarily so because it means simply fasting and praying in lonely spots in the mountains, beside pools, etc. There are more specific details having definite distributions.

For example, the Klamath youth isolated on his quest runs constantly about piling up rocks: so does the Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Wishram, and Nez Percé. This is a wholly arbitrary and pointless procedure, unless it be thought that any arduous task will heighten the seeker's immolation and thus hasten the benefaction. The Thompson have rationalized this type of activity (it does not include piling rocks specifically) as training for later life. The same point of view appears more widely in the comparable puberty rites for girls. Possibly related to these rock piles is the seat or little monument to which the Yurok retires to acquire luck in gambling or power to bewitch.[498]

More significant than this, the Klamath dives into the water, where he is drawn below by a spirit. He loses consciousness to wake on the shore with blood streaming from nose and mouth. Diving for a spirit is a practice widespread north and south. The Wishram sometimes dives to reach certain under-water caves where spirits dwell. A Kwakiutl shaman's song tells of being carried under the sea where he received power. In several Chinook tales the hero swims, is carried under by a supernatural to its house, and wakes on the shore. Precisely the same formula is recorded in an experience of a Klallam; here too, blood flowed from the man's mouth. The Snohomish and Nisqually youth regularly dives into whirlpools, carrying in his hands a rock on which he spat, to weigh himself down, and wakes on the shore. I recorded exactly this curious procedure in a tale of the Kalispel. Boas obtained a legend of the mainland Cowichan which suggests the same form: an orphan went swimming and diving every day in order to get strong. "One day he made a fire near a lake and accidentally spat into the water." He lost consciousness, visited the supernaturals below, and obtained power.[499] While I think [114]

[498] Dixon, *Some Shamans*, 24; Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 187; Spinden, *Nez Percé*, 247; Kroeber, *Handbook*, 63, 64.

[499] Boas, *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl*, 1294, *Chinook Texts*, 220, 230; Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 294, 302; Haeberlin-Gunther, *Ethnographische Notizen*, 57–8; Boas, *Lower Fraser River*, 2.

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that it is hazardous to use incidents incorporated in tales as evidence of customs, it is at least suggestive in the absence of other information.

Southward of the Klamath the same practice of diving in mountain lakes, finding "something" in the water, and recovering on the shore is recorded for Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northeastern Maidu. The case of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento valley differs only slightly in phrasing: the seeker is rescued by his friends. Again, the Yurok swims and is taken below by a monster.[461]

In view of this distribution it seems to me significant that the Shasta and Hupa seeker is described as swimming for luck; the Hupa man, at least, then lying as long as possible on the frozen shore. The Chimariko is briefly described as bathing at dusk in remote mountain lakes, and of the Wiyot we learn only that some people were pitied by powerful lake spirits.

The significance of all these cases lies in the recognition of a class of under-water spirits from whom power is to be had, and further that it is attained by diving to reach them. If we assume that Southern Maidu and Miwok shared the belief in under-water spirits (and our scant data do not deny it), the Yokuts case becomes intelligible as a southern outpost of the belief. These people sometimes derive their powers from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, and Kroeber, in fact, recorded the experience of one Yokuts who dreamed he was taken below the water by spirits.[462]

Not the least curious part of some of these experiences is the notion that the effect is so great as to cause hemorrhages at mouth and nose. This was referred to above among Klallam and Klamath as a result of diving. It is also the regular effect of other types of experience among the Klamath. The identical notion has been noted for a variety of other tribes of this area: Quinault, Modoc, Shasta, Sacramento Valley Maidu, Sinkyone, and Yuki.[463]

The Klamath are not at all reticent among themselves as to the nature of the experiences they have. Thus, one who has had a successful quest at once may sing what he hears in his dreams. On the other hand, a Wishram carefully guards his experience, betraying it only by songs at the spirit dances and by his personal taboos and

[461] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 216, Northern Maidu, 267, 278; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 157–158; Kroeber, Handbook, 40, 68.

[462] Dixon, Shasta, 489, Chimariko, 303; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 88; Kroeber, Handbook, 117, 514.

[463] Olson, Quinault field notes; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129; Dixon, Shasta, 473, Northern Maidu, 267–268; Kroeber, Handbook, 149, 197.

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behavior, and finally revealing it only at the point of death. These contrasting attitudes have different distributions. A number of Washington tribes align with the Wishram: the Puget Sound Salish does not reveal his experience until late in life, the Klallam and Nez Percé waits until the spirit dances are held, and there is a suggestion that the Chinook also maintains silence. Similar reticence crops up again in northeastern California: the Achomawi-Atsugewi never tells, the Sacramento Valley Maidu only as an old man.[455] Considering their geographic situation we might have expected similar reticence of the Klamath, but on the contrary they share the freedom of speech of the generality of Californians.

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The Novice's Performance

It is obvious that there must always be an initial performance by a shaman to demonstrate his ability, such as a first cure. It does not follow, however, that this need be a performance of a special type, as it is among the Klamath.

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The Klamath novice waits for winter to prove his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The dance he then performs is much like those he will use in subsequent demonstrations of his power, but includes the demonstration of two feats; eating fire, and swallowing and disgorging arrowheads. He sings his spirit songs as he dances close to a huge fire, while an assistant calls on his spirits to help him perform the feats. It will be observed that this has nothing to do with curing.

An initiatory performance is by no means confined to the Klamath. Kroeber has previously pointed out that this is characteristic of northern California, centering in the northwest.[456] It has also a northward extension beyond the border of that state through western Oregon. Records are available for Wishram, Tillamook, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Tolowa, Yurok, Hupa, Chimariko, Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, the northerly Wintun, the Sacramento valley branch of the Northern Maidu, the Northeastern Maidu, and the Southern Maidu. There is no reason for supposing that it was wholly lacking among other western Oregon and northwest Californian groups, for most of whom there is meager information. It is apparently absent among

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[455] Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 66; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Boas, Chinook Texts, 215; Dixon, Some Shamans, 24, Northern Maidu, 267.

[456] Handbook, 852.

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The Winter Performance

756 Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point 787 of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining 796 for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

*171 This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society per- 756 formances in midwinter. The society members are those who are 787 repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly pos- 796 sessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season."[676]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[677] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

[676] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[677] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

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similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479] This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call the spirits and prompt them to act.

[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

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Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

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Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance preceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

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As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

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The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

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ing out only by their greater capacities. The voluntary quest in an isolated place and the formulation of spirits as birds, animals, and other things in nature are equally general North American.

There is, however, a local phrasing of sha- nism in the interior, centering in southeastern Oregon and northeastern California, that is, from Klamath to Maidu. In part this is due to the presence of elements shared equally with the whole of northern California; in part to specific influences from two directions, northwestern California and the Northwest Coast. These have been caught up into complexes characteristic of this territory. Certain features are, further, peculiar to this locality alone.

*171 756 787

California and the western segment of the Southwest are characterized by the few individuals on whom supernatural grace descends and the dream as the means of its reception. Elsewhere east and north the voluntary quest is open to everyone and the vision its culmination. Northern California combines these variously; the Klamath by making the quest, permitting anyone to do so, and holding the quest a prelude to the dream.

Spirits are the source of power in northeastern California, as they are northward and eastward. The curious northwest Californian concept of "pains," alike sources of power and pathogenic in their action, infiltrates the beliefs of the northeastern quarter of the state but does not penetrate to the Klamath. Nor do the mythic supernaturals of the northwest coastal strip known as far south as the Columbia river make their appearance here. But the conceptualization of the shaman's spirits as dwarfs, localized in northern California, does appear among the Klamath.

There is also in the interior some inheritance of a predilection to acquire spirits; in this the Klamath share. But there is nothing of that rigid inheritance of particular spirits which focuses on the Northwest Coast, nor the inheritance of paraphernalia known to central California.

*171 787

The manner of conducting the quest has two local peculiarities. The curious practice of piling rocks in the mountains is known north and south of the Klamath from Nez Percé to Atsugewi. Diving for a spirit, swooning, and awakening with a hemorrhage has a far more widely extended range. In one form or another, it is found from the Kwakiutl through northern California. The emphasis on it links the Klamath definitely with the northern members of this group.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time. 171* 787

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected by this influence. 171* 756 [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere. 171* 756 535

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 171* 756 796 000

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[860] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

[860] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 188.

[861] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 806; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 • 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 881 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Huchnom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	3	5	6	–	–	4	5	5	4	5	3	3
2089. Used by shaman in curing	•	–	–	–	•	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2101. For Ghost dance	•	–	R	–		R		R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	•	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•	+	•	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	•	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	726
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+*	+	+	+*	+	-	-	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+*	-	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	701
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	+	-	+	-	+*	+	+*	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	-	-	-	-	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	±	-*	+*	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	-	+	-	-	+*	-	±	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	±	+	+	-	-	-	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	-	+	-	±	-	+	-	-	-	
2801. Selected by chief	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	-	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	+*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+*	+*	-	+*	-	-	-	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+-	-	-	-	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	[758]
2807. Occasionally only	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]
2810. By shaman	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+*	+	-	-	-	-	-	[756]
2811. Dreams	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	+*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	-	-	+							+	+	-	-	-	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	-	+	+	-	+*	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	[756]
2815. "Charms" enemy	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2817. Formulas against enemy	-	+*	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	·					+*	+	+	+	-	+	-	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	·					+	+	+	+	-	-		
2822. In daytime	-	-						-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	-*	+*	+	+	+	-	+	+*	+	-	+	-	-	-	[535]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
2872. Body left unburied, unburned	-	.	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	727
2873. Women captives enslaved	•+	•(-)	+	•+	-	•-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2874. Violated	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
o2875. Married	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	
2876. Child captives killed	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	[858]
2877. Kept for month or so	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2878. Abused	-	-	-	-				+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2879. Body left unburied, unburned	-	-	-	-				+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2880. Child captives enslaved	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
2881. Adopted	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	[597]
Booty and Scalps															
2882. Booty taken	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	
2883. Bows of slain kept	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	-	-	(+)	•+	-	
2884. Scalps taken	+	+	+	•-	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	•+	•-	
2885. Scalp dried on frame	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	•+	-	
2886. Special custodian for scalp	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2887. Scalp kept permanently	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2888. Scalp thrown away	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	-	
2889. Scalp burnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	(+)	+	(+)	-	+	-	
2890. Whole head taken	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2891. Fingers taken	+	-	+	-							-	-	-	-	
2892. Heart cut out, taken	+	-	+	-					+	.	-	-	-	-	
Behavior of Noncombatants															
Women's Dance															
2893. Women dance while warriors away	-	+	+		•+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	722
2894. Each day or night	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2895. Sing, pray to help men at war	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	535
2896. Each woman dances separately	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	562
2897. Round dance	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2898. Dance abreast	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	.	-	.	-	-	
2899. Outside	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2900. Woman singer	-	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
2901. Male singer	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2902. Flint "rattle," on basket caps	-		+					-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2903. Panther teeth, bear claws on stick rattle	-	-	+					-	-		-	.	-	-	
2904. No rattle used	-	(+)	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	
2905. Wear skirts of strung pine nuts	-	+	+		-		+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	
2906. Hold bow and arrow, or flint knife, in hand	-	-	+		•-			-	-	+	+	.	-	-	
Prognostications															
2907. If woman drops knife during dance, sign husband killed, hurt	-	-	.							+	+	.	-	-	[787]
2908. Shaman doctors to learn of warrior's progress	-	-	.						+	-	+	.	+	-	[756]
Return of War Party															
Victory Dance															
2908a. Victory (scalp) dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(-)	•+	-	727
2909. Held in or near village	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	535
2910. Held in brush corral	-	-	+								-	-	-	-	
2911. All men dance	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	[562]
2912. Warriors only, among men, dance	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2913. Women dance	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3208. Merely stays indoors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
†3209. For ... days	5	5	–	5	–	–	–	¾	–	¾	–	–	6	·	28	28
3210. Until child's cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3211. Sleeps little	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	¾	+	+	–	–	–	–
3212. Enforced activities, immediately after birth.	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3213a. Dances	–	–	–	–	–	¾	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3213. Runs	+	+	+	–	¾	¾	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3214. First child only	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3215. Breaks up wood		–	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3216. Brings back firewood	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3217. Piles up rocks	¾	¾	¾										–	–	–	–
o3218. Seeks power in mountains	+	+	+	(+)	+	¾	–	–	+	±	–	–	–	–	–	–
3219. For every child he has	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3220. First 4-5 children only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3221. Swims		+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–
3222. In spring in mountains	–	+	–			–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	–
3223. Cooks for self and children	–	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	+	–	–	.	–
3224. Bathing taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	.	–
o3225. Bathing taboo for ... days	–	–	¾	–	+	¾	–	¾	–	¾	+	3	–	–	.	–
†3226. Sweating taboo for ... days	–	5	¾	–	–	¾	–	+	¾	¾	+	–	–	–	.	–
3227. Certain activities taboo.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
†3228. Hunting deer taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	¾	28	+	3	+	6	+	40
†3229. Other hunting taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	¾	28	+	3	+	6	+	30
†3230. Fishing taboo ... days	–	5	+	28	+	+	+	28	¾	½	+	3	+	6	+	30
3231. Hunting, fishing taboo until cord drops off	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
†3232. Gambling taboo ... days	5	5	+	+	+	–	–	–	28	½	+	3	+	+	.	+
3233. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3234. Smoking taboo until cord drops off.	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	.	–
†3235. Traveling taboo ... days	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	28	28	½	+	3	+	+	+	40
3236. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
†3237. Fresh, dried meat, grease taboo	–	5	+	+	+	+	+	28	+	½	+	3	+	–	+	28
†3238. Fresh fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	+	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3239. Dried fish taboo	–	5	–	–	+	+	+	28	–	–	+	3	+	–	+	35
†3240. Salt taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	5	+	–	+	3	+	5	+	35
3241. Cold water taboo	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3242. Until cord drops off	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3243. Until child smiles first time													–	–	+	–
3244. Eats with wife	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3245. Uses own receptacles	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3246. Dress and toiletry taboos	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3247. Special belt worn	(+)	+	–	–	+	–	¾	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
3248. Scratch stick used	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	¾	¾	+	–	–	–
3249. Combing hair taboo	+	¾	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3250. Until navel has healed		+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
3251. Release from taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3252. Bathes	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	¾	–	–	+	¾	+	+	+	–
3253. Sweat bath and swim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3254. Clothes changed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3255. Gives away old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3256. Burns old clothes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3257. Throws away old clothes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3258. Leaves old clothes on tree.	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3259. Keeps old clothes; washes them	+	+	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
3259a. Shoots at target	–	–	+	–	¾						–	.	–	–	–	–
3260. When hunts, gives away 1st kill	–	+	+	–	¾	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3261. When gambles, gives away 1st winnings	–	–	–		¾	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	¾	.	.	–
3262. Feast at end of taboo period					+	+							¾	+	¾	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
Naming																
3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	◦+	-	-	◦.	-
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	◦+	+	◦+	+	◦.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
3309. Child named around puberty	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	.	-
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	-	◦-				+	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	-
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	◦+
3319. Name "given away"	-	-	◦-							◦+	-	-	-	-	.	-
3320. Names dreamt	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.	-
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	+	(-)	+	.	-
Mutilations																
3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	◦+	+
3324. Soon after birth	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	-	+	+	+	◦.	◦+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	-	+	-	◦-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3328. Girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3329. Virgins only	-	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	◦+
3331. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	-
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	◦+
3333. To make child good-tempered	-	+	+				+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	-	+	+						+	-	-	-	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	-	-	-								+	-	◦+	-	-	.
3336. Dance follows	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3338. Soon after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3340. At or around puberty	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	◦+	-	-
3341. Any time	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	◦+	◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
3343. Obligatory for all	-	+	+	-	◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3344. All girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
3346. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	◦+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3347. Done by self	-	-	-					-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3349. Girl: dance follows								-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦+	R	R	(-)	-	-	-	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	-	◦-	◦+	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(+)	-	-	-	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3354. Rare among women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	R	+	-	-	-	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	-	-	◦+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	◦R	R	R	.	-	-	-	+
3357. Done by "good" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3358. For style only	R	-	+	◦+	-	+	+	-	◦R	R	R	.	-	-	-	.
3359. As therapeutic measure	-	-	-						◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3360. To insure longevity	-	-	-	-	◦+	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	5	10	5	5	5	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	84
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	88
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	•	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3461. Hot food taboo	•																
3462. Cold water taboo	•	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3463. River water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	5	5	5	10	3	5	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28	
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3467. Girl eats outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3468. Girl eats inside but, dwelling	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3469. Eats with woman attendant	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3470. Girl uses own baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	•	
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•	
3472. Baskets destroyed			+		+						+	•	–	–	–	•	
3473. Baskets hung on tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(-)	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3474. Cane drinking tube used			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking.	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	•	
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	+	+	+	(-)	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	•	
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	–	+		–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	–	–	
3479. Girl chews plant substance	–	•	•	+	•	•	+	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	+	•	•		•	•	+	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	–	–	–		•	•	•	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	(-)	+	
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	•	[788]
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		(-)	+	+		+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3484. Girl rises early		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	•	–	–	–	–	
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	•	
3486. Little talking	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3487. Must talk softly	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3490. Avoids all hunters	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
3491. Old women visit girl	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	[887]
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	–	–	–	–	–	(-)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	•	+	+	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	[821]
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	•	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	•	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3497. Looking around taboo	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	o	o	–	–	–	–	o	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	•	+	
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	•	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	•	•	•	
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	[515]
	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	

84/
88/

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3558. Wristlets	◔	◔	–	–	–	◔	◔	–	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–
3559. Special belt	–	◔	◔	◔	–	◔	◔	–	◔	–	◔	◔	◔	–	–	–
3560. Nose stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3561. Earrings, optional	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3562. Necklaces	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
3564. Preparing food taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3565. Basketmaking taboo	–	+	+	+	◔	◔	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3566. No labor taboo	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3567. Compulsory light labor	◔	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	◔	◔	◔	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	◔	–	◔
3570. Girl must carry water	+	–	+	–	◔	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3571. Girl must pound roots	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	–	–	+	–	◔	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3574. Girl makes baskets	–	–	–	–	◔	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	–	–	–	◔	◔	◔	–	◔	–	+	+	–	◔	–	–
3576. Girl runs each morning	–	–	–	–	+	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3577. Girl runs in evening	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	–	–	–	–	◔	+	+	–	+	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	–	(+)	–	–	◔	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony	–	–	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	–	–	–	–	–	◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	–	◔	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	–	–	–	–	+	◔	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	◔	–	–	–
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	◔	◔	◔	+	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	+	+	+	+	+	◔
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	◔	+
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	–	–	+								–	+	◔	+	.	–
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	–	–	.	–
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. nanses	◔	◔	◔	–	◔	◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	–	–	+					+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	◔
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	–	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	◔
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3606. Belt kept permanently	–	–	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–

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	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3606a. Belt given attendant	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3609. Night dance	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	+	◦+	◦+	+	–	–	◦+	–	◦+
3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
3610. Day dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦+	–	–	–
3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	◦+	◦+	+	◦–	◦+	◦+	+	◦+	◦+	:	+	+	◦+	+	–	◦–
3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	8	10	3	3	3	5	5	5	4	5	1	5	–	1
‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	5	–	–
3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3617. Held in sweat house, winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3618. Held outside, summer or winter	–	–	◦+	◦+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
3620. Rainy weather, no dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
3622. Girl's family in charge	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	◦+	–	–	–	–	+
3623. Old man in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦–		–	◦–	–	+	–	+	–	–
3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
3624. Shaman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3625. Youths, men participate	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–
3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	–	+	+	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3630. Girl dances with group	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
o3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦–	+	–	+	–	–
3632. Youths dance	–	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3633. Men dance	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3634. Old men dance	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	–	–	–			◦–		–	–	◦–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3636. Women, girls dance	–	–	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	◦+	+	–	–	+	+	+	◦+	+	–	–	–	–
3642. Men, women dance separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3643. Men, women dance together	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
3644. Men, women in 1 circle	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
3645. Men, women in 2 circles	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3648. Clockwise start	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	+
3649. Counterclockwise start	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3650. Dance proceeds around pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3651. Dance proceeds around fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3652. Singers mainly women	+	◦+	–	+	–	◦–	+	–	–	–	–	+	◦+	◦+	–	◦+
3653. Singers mainly men	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	◦+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3655. Professional singers	+	+	–					–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3712. Girl stands on view in finery	-	-	-	-				+	½	½	-	-	-	-	-	+
3712. Betrothed stands on view with girl	-	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		½	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3715. Visitors present food	-	-	-	+	+	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	-	-	-	+	½	-	R	+	(-)	+	-	(-)	+	-	-	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	(-)	-
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	½	½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3721. Girl passes through fire	-	-	-	½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	½	½	-	-	-
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	-
Boys' Puberty Observances																
3722. Formal group rites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3723. Secret society initiation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
General Menstrual Customs																
3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	-	-	-		-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3738. In menstrual hut or cookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	-	-	5	¾	¾	3	5	-	5	-	3
3740. All women	½	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3742. Old women attend menstruant												+	-	+	-	-
3743. Certain activities taboo	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3744. Basketmaking	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3745. Wood gathering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
3746. Preparing vegetable food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	-		-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	-	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	-	-
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
4271. Pitch wears off naturally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
4272. Mourning necklace worn until remarriage	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	◔	–	+	◔
o4273. Approximate no. yrs. before remarriage	½	½	¾	1	½	½	¾	¾	1	½	1	–	¾	¾	¾	½
4274. Indefinite period; shorter for younger women	–	–	–								+	+	+	+	+	+
4275. Older women often do not remarry	+	+	+								·	+	+	+	–	–
4276. Widower	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
4277. Cuts or burns hair, slightly	+	+	◔	◔	◔	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	◔	–	◔
4278. Pitches hair or face, or both	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
†4279. Meat, fish, salt taboo ... days after funeral	56	10	10	5	1	–	1	5	28	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
†4280. Hunting taboo ... days	+	10	10	5	–	+	–	10	½	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4281. For ... months	12	–	–	–	–	◔	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	◔
†4282. Fishing taboo ... days	5	10	5	5	–	+	–	10	+	–	–	1	+	+	–	+
†4283. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	◔	–	–	3	–	–	–	1	1	–	◔
4284. Gives away all or most of 1st kill.	–	–	+				+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4285. Cannot "cry" before hunting	+	+	+								·	·	+	·	·	–
†4286. Spends ... nights in mountains	5	◔	10	–	–	1	1	1	1	1	◔	–	–	–	–	–
4287. To obtain vision	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4288. Piles up rocks	+	+	+	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	–
4289. Gathers or breaks wood	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4290. Sleeps little or none	+	+									+	+	+	–	–	–
4291. Returns home wailing	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4292. Obtains dream at home, night of funeral		–	+			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4293. Sweats alone daily for ... days after cremation	5	5	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4294. Purification	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
o4295. Sweats with other mourners ... days after funeral	–	–	◔	5	–	◔	◔	–	2	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–
†4296. Swims ... days after funeral	–	–	◔	5	1	◔	◔	5	1	◔	–	3	2	5	–	◔
4297. Cuts shoulder	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4298. Children observe taboos for dead parent	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
4299. Son, daughter cut hair close; slight pitch	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	◔	–	–
4300. Do not seek for power	+	+	–				+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
°4301. Parents observe taboos for child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4302. Cut hair slightly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4303. Pitch on hair or face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4304. Mother only	+	+	–		+					+	–	–	–	–	+	+
†4305. Meat taboo ... days	5	5	10	5	3	–	1	5	+	–	–	1	–	5	–	–
o4306. For ... months	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4307. Sweat or bathe	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4308. Man goes to mountains to seek power	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
°4309. Loss of 1st child before cord drops off entails rigid taboos				(+)					(+)		◔	+	+	+	+	◔
4310. Couple give everything away, start anew											+	–	+	+	+	–
4311. Secluded for 1 month													+			–
Taboos on Community																
†4312. Foot travel stopped for ... days	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	4	◔	5	–	+
4313. Until burial of corpse	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	–	–	–	+
4314. Uttering name of dead taboo	+	◔	+	+	–	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4315. Indefinitely	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
4316. Until formally regiven	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	(+)	–	–
4317. Only in presence of kin	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
821 4539. Babies, children shown to moon	–	+	–	*–	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
852 4540. Race, run, jump east	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
4541. "Spanked"	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4542. Tossed in air	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4543. Children raise arms to moon	–	+					+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
4544. Tell moon they are growing	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	(+)	–
4545. Face, body, arms rubbed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4546. Address moon by kin term	–	+	–	–	–	*+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
4547. Bone to make child grow fast	–	+	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
821 4548. Position of horns significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787 4549. Vertical; sign of death, sickness	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4550. Vertical; sign of rain and snow	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4551. Vertical; sign of good weather, good fortune	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
4552. Horizontal; good weather, dry month	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4553. Horizontal; full of water, rain or storm	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
4554. Horizontal; death, sickness	–	–	+	+	–	+	*+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
821 4555. Taboos concerning moon	–	+	+	+					+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
4556. If point at new moon, finger crooks, drops off	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*4557. If sleep in moonlight, cross eyes, facial paralysis	–	–	+	+					+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
Eclipses																
4558. Recognized	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4559. Sun, moon dying	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	*+	–	–	–
4560. Bear, dog eating sun, moon	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4561. Lizard eating moon	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4562. Frog eating, passing over sun											+	–	–	–	–	+
4563. Frog doctoring, passing over moon	+	–	+								+	–	–	–	–	+
4564. Big snake giving birth to baby													–	+	–	–
4565. No explanation for eclipse of moon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
4566. Special behavior during eclipses	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4567. All shout, eclipse of sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4568. All shout, eclipse of moon	+	*+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4569. Pray and talk to sun, moon	–	–	+	–	–	*+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
*4570. Beat dogs	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4571. Shoot arrows in air	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4572. Sprinkle water	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4573. Cover all food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4574. Hide children	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	*+	–	–
4575. Bring in wood, or make fire	–	–	*+											*+	*+	–
[787] 4576. Eclipse portent of death	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*4577. Red moon portent of disaster	–	–	*+			*+	–	–	–	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–
Falling Stars																
787 *4578. Evil sign	–	*+	*+	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	*+	–
821 *4579. Sign man visiting woman, for intercourse	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
4580. Presage good weather next day	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–	–	–	–
4581. No sign	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
4582. Porcupine fallen star	–								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4583. People clap hands, breathe loudly	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
4584. People pray for good luck	–	+	+					+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Milky Way, Other Star Lore																
821 4585. Milky Way: creek or river	*+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	.	–	.	.	.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
4586. Milky Way: dead persons', ghosts' road, trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4587. Taboo for young boys to look at evening star.	-	-	-							+	-	-	+	-	+	
4588. Girls forbidden to count stars													+	-	+	
4589. Single star, close to moon, evil sign	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	.	.	-	-	-	
4590. 5 small stars, close to moon, sign children will die	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-
Rainbow																
4591. Menstruation sign	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	+	+	.
4592. Evil sign	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		.	+	(+)	(+)	.
4593. Sign of rain	+	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.
4594. Sign of good wild crops	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.
4595. Sign connected with doctoring	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.
4596. If point at, finger will be crooked, drop off	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.
4597. Children warned especially	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
4598. If point at, makes child sick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	.
4599. Dreaming of rainbow evil portent	-	+	-						+	+	-	-	-	-	-	.
Thunder																
4600. Old man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
4601. Has wife	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
4602. Tree his wife	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
4603. Boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4604. Thunder and lightning twin boys	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4605. Thunder takes form of bird, when striking	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4606. No explanation of noise	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4607. Noise, man and woman talking	-	-	-			-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
4608. Noise, man moving or kicking things	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4609. Noise, man shouting angrily	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
4610. Noise, bird ripping tree with claws, moving wings	-	-	-		+			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4611. Noise, twin boys back on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4612. Thunder feared	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
4613. Raccoon skin held up on stick	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4614. Dogs made to squeal	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4615. Stick burned; old man walk in circle with it.											+	-	+	+	+	-
4616. Thunder talked, prayed to; told to depart	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
Lightning																
4617. Power, weapon of Thunder person	+	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	.	.
4618. From mouth, hand of Thunder person	-	-	-		+	+	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	.
4619. From claws of Thunder or Lightning Bird	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	.
4620. Takes shape of raccoon	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
4621. Feared	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4622. Crawl under burnt trees or log	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
4623. Run to open spot	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
4624. Jump into water	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4625. Cover head	+										-	+	+	+	+	+
4626. Talk to lightning	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	.
4627. Hold up raccoon skin	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.
4628. Keep quiet											-	-	+	+	+	.
Whirlwind																
4629. Evil associated with whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4630. In fall especially												+	+	+	+	
4631. Is dead shaman's dust	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	-	-

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4675. Door keeper at land of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	775
4676. One destination for all	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
4677. Good and bad different destinations	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	+	-	(+)	◔	-	-	-	
4678. All ghosts stay on earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4679. Doctors, bad persons	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4680. Improperly buried, burned persons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4681. Ghosts encountered around village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
4682. Ghosts encountered around cremation spot or burying place	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	
4683. In air	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	
4684. In whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	
4685. Dead visit in dreams with living	+	+	+	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787] ●
4686. Occasional dream may give person power	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	
4687. Constant dreaming of dead bad omen	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	◔	
Precautions to Keep Away Ghosts																	
4688. Ghosts feared	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	769
4689. Offerings of food, if dream of dead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	(+)	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	775
4690. Ghost feast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	◔	+	-	-	◔	
4691. Eat with dog	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4692. Shaman hired to sing for dreamer	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	
4693. Dreamer puts ashes, pitch on body							+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4694. Talk to ghost	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
4695. Throw ashes toward ghost	+	◔	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
4696. Throw water toward ghost or grave								+	◔	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
4697. Bathe in plain or medicated water	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
4698. Herbs rubbed on body	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
4699. Roots chewed and spit	-	-	-	-	◔	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4700. Tobacco smoked	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
4701. Burn aromatic plant	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	◔	◔	◔	◔	-	
4702. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4703. Burn hair, skin	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	-	-	-	◔	-	◔	◔	-	◔	-	
4704. After childbirth, to avoid bad dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4705. Hang small bow and arrow in door	-									+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
4706. Plant, feathers hung up	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	
Omens																	
Sneezing, etc.																	
4707. Sudden sneeze sign someone talking about sneezer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	787 827
4708. Of opposite sex	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4709. Relation	-	-	-	+				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4710. At a distance	-	+	+	+	+	+			-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4711. Sudden sneeze sign someone thinking of sneezer	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4712. Invite such to come visit	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4713. Ear buzzing sign someone deprecating person														+	-	-	
Bird, Animal Calls as Omens																	
4714. Owl call before dawn omen death, war, rain	+	+	+	◔	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
4715. Robin calling after dark bad omen	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	825
4716. Magpie calling after dark bad omen	-	+	-	-		-		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4717. Crow, quail calling, tells of enemy passing	-	+	+	-		.	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	◦
4718. Dog howling, sign of war	+	-	-	-	+	.		+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4719. Coyote, fox howling sign of war	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
4720. Any animal calling out of time evil sign	-	+	+	-	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
4721. May be shaman, sending out spirit								+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASPECTS OF RELIGION																
Vision Quest																
4722. Vision questing to obtain guardian spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	◦	◦	◦		-	◦
4723. By individuals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		-	-
4724. By group	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-		-	-
4725. Men, youths, boys	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+		-	-
4726. Women, girls	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	◦	◦	+	-	+		-	-
4726a. Optional, not obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+		-	-
4727. First quest, prepuberty	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-
4728. First quest at or around puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	-	+	+	(+)		-	-
4729. Questing during adult life	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	◦	+	+	-	-		-	-
4730. Quest once only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	+	+		-	-
4731. Quest repeated, to gain power, or for successive powers	+	+	.		+	+	+	-	◦	+	+	-	-		-	-
4732. Some candidates never obtain vision	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+		-	-
4733. Undertaken in winter, annually	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4734. Undertaken in spring, summer only	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	◦	-	-	-	+		-	-
4735. Undertaken any time, after birth child, death of near relative	+	+	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4736. Vision quest general, may obtain any variety power	◦	◦	-	-	-	◦	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4736a. Vision quest may yield all powers except those for doctoring	-	-	+	◦	-	◦	-	◦	◦	◦	-	-	-		-	-
4737. Vision quest yields doctoring powers only	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-
4738. Youths prepared for quest	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4739. Lectured by father, father's brother	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-		-	-
4740. Whipped with bowstring, stick	-	-	-		-	+	+	-	◦	-	-	-	-		-	-
4741. Ears pierced	-	-	-	-	◦	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4742. Go out naked, or with breech-clout only	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+				-		-	-
4743. Seeker quests at fixed localities in mountains	◦	◦	(+)	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4744. Alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4745. With older shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
4746. Men or youths only	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
§4747. For ... days, nights	5	5	¼	1	5	½	2	0	1	1	1	2	2		-	-
4748. Before doctor-making dance	◦	◦	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	(+)	+		-	-
4749. After doctor-making dance	◦	◦	-	-	-	-	-	◦	◦	◦	-	-	-		-	-
§4750. Complete food fast ... days	5	5	(+)	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	2		-	-
c4751a. Eats sparingly, or according to spirit's instructions ... days	-	+	28	5	2	-	2	5	1	2	-	2	◦		-	-
4752. Meat taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4753. Abstains from water	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4754. Drinks water with acorn meal in it			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
4755. Sexual continence during quest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+		-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4756. Bathes to acquire power	+	+	+	-	+	+	*+	+	*+	+	-	+	+		-	-	787
4756a. In lake or stream	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	[515]
4757. Complete immersion	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-	
4758. Washes hands in spring	+	-	-					+		+	-	-	-		-	-	
4759. Bathes each day	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	+	(-)	.		-	-	
o4759a. Bathes after ... days	-	-	-	-		*2	*2	5	5	*2	-	.	.		-	-	
4760. Rebuilds stone altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
4761. Breaks branches, piles up wood	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4762. Builds fire	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	[372]
4763. Smokes self over fire	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		+	-	+	+		-	-	
4764. Catches glowworms	*+	-	*+					-	.	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4765. Sleeps on mountain at night	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	(+)	-	-		-	-	
4766. Prays for vision	-	-	-					+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
4766a. Scarification and bleeding	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[304]
4767. Ants allowed to bite wounds	-	-	+	*+	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
*4768. To obtain "luck" only	-	-	(-)	*+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4769. Power comes by dreaming	-	*+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4769a. Power comes in trance or faint	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4770. Nose or mouth bleeds	+	*+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+		-	-	
4771. Instruction by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	
4772. Guardian spirit communicates with seeker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773. Spirit seen	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4773a. Spirit heard	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4774. Spirit felt	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
4775. Gives song	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4776. Gives paint		+	-	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	
4777. Gives dance		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	
4778. Instructs as to paraphernalia, methods.	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-	
*4779. Doctor dance main or only form vision seeking for youths, girls		-	-	-	-	-	-	*+	*+	*+	-	-	-		-	-	
4780. Successful seeker observes taboos on return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
†4781. Is sick for ... days	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	*1	*1	*2	1	+	+		-	-	
†4782. Continent			-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	[834]
4782a. For ... years			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1		-	-	
4783. Swims	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4784. Sweats and swims	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	
†4785. Stays outside house ... days.	1	1	-	-	2	1	*2	5	0	*2	-	-	-		-	-	
†4786. Confined ... days in sweat house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(5)	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4787. Uses head scratcher	-	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4788. Eats sparingly or according to spirit's instructions.	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	[262]
4788a. Meat taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-	
4789. Fish taboo	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-					-	-	
4790. Salt taboo	-		-					+	+	-	-	-	-		-	-	
4790a. Drinks water with acorn meal in it.	-	-	-						+	(+)					-	-	[271]
4791. Smokes tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-		-	-	
4792. Gives first kill to old man			+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	[276]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
4927. Private, indoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		-	-
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4932. Must know esoteric language	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.		-	-
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	+
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		+	-
4940. When trance coming on			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+		-	-
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	-	+	+				+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4947. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4948. Eagle wing	-	-	+					-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4949. Stick	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	-
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	+
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		.	+
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		.	-
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4955. With feathers	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		.	+
4957. Administers herb medicines	-	-	-					+	-	-	+	+	+		.	+
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		.	+
4959. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	+
4960. Walking cane								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4961. Beat on plank with board			-						+	+	-	-	-		-	-
4962. Whistle	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		.	-
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	+
4968. Vomited out of mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-			+	-
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	-
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+		-	+
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		-	-
4974. Put in basket cup of water	-	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	-	-	-						+	+	-	-			-	-
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	+
4977. By sleight of hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-		-	+
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
4981. Buried	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	+
4982. Blown away			-					+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
+4983. Burned	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NW	NM	NS	NV
755	**Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing**																
	4983a. Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
	4984. Negotiated fee	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4985. Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
	4986. Fee paid to doctor before cure	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4987. Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			–		+	+		+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4988. Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
	4989. Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
	4990. Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4993. If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–		+	
	o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	–	–	2			·	
	4995. If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–
	4996. If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	+
	4997. Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	·	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
	4998. Within 1 to 6 months.	–	·	+	+	·	·	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–
	†4999. Within ... days	10	·	–	–	·	·	10	10	10	–	–	–	20		20	20
	5000. Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
	5001. Assistants paid less than doctor	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[683]	5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5004. May be accused of poisoning	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5005. Liable to be killed	–	–	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5006. Never decline case	–	–	–		+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
[681]	5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
	Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756 787	5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village							+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5009. Goes into trance					+	+	+		+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
	5011. Can locate lost, stolen objects	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	·	+	+		–	(+)
	5012. Can see what is happening afar off	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5013. What will happen in future	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	–
	Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754	5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	
	5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim			·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5016. Disease object put in food	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
	5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			–			+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
	5019. Disease object applied to person's body	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+	–
	5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													–			–
	5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	–
	5021. Disease object pointed at victim	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
	5022. Thrown at victim	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–
	5023. Blown off hand at victim	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–

821 is fire from dove, fire for driving rabbits; is pinole or piñon road, frame or back bone of sky. Rainbow: is man's penis, coyote's penis, childbirth sign; sign of dry weather, bad luck for hunting or fishing; get weak eyes from staring at. Thunder: is female, woman and 2 sons, coyote; noise explained as 2 fawns hiding in intercourse, hummingbird, eagle playing shinny, dancing, sliding on snow, sticks being beaten together, tules being broken, basket being rolled; food or water thrown out, food or water covered. Lightning: from mouth, eyes of Thunder person; from waving of ribbon, drilling, rubbing sticks, striking stones together; is fire from burning tules, birds flying fast; food, water thrown out, covered; dogs made to squeal. Whirlwind: war associated with, snake in it, wind playing; caused by charmstone; spit at to stop, offer beads to, point at, strike or pierce it with weapon; formula and bathing.

Beliefs Concerning Spirits, Ghosts

775 Spirit goes to definite underworld; to island; crosses water with boatman; rich and poor different destinations; warriors go to special heaven. Hang hopper basket, grass snare, bay leaves in door to keep away ghost.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Vision Quest

787 824 Jimsonweed (Datura) root drunk to obtain vision, by group or individuals. Ant-fortitude ordeal; group or individuals swallow ants, to obtain vision.

Shamanism

756 Sucking doctors: women only; women can sicken only. Doctor-making rite held in circular brush enclosure; patient brought in for novice to cure; novice enters sweat house via exit hole, enters head first down ladder. Curing: shaman uses beads on stick, quartz crystals; brushes or fans away disease with skin; rubs Datura (jimsonweed) on eyes, drinks Datura; doctor or assistant uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper, flute. Doctor cuts before sucking; disease object sucked out through pipe. Doctor paid by installments throughout night. Sucking doctors: in competition, "bullets" shot; assistants for each contestant, performers paid; contests held at mourning ceremony only. Singing shamans: outfit bundle inherited, bought; shaman uses quartz crystals, portable mortar, charmstone; shaman dies if he loses outfit. Soul-loss doctor: is also singing shaman; uses deer-hoof rattle, split-stick clapper; mostly women. Soul recovered by snaring in noose, by refrightening patient. Weather shamans: make rain with aid of black rock, crystal,

000 trout); see note 284. At: Not many salmon in Hat Creek; occasionally a good run. AW: Salmon ascend Pit River as far as falls at site of Pit 1 power house, in Achomawi area (see Kniffen, Achomawi, map 1). Trout, suckers, catfish, bass also found within area. AE: No salmon; very few streams, creeks; fish scarce. WT: Salmon in area. When salmon begin running, if couple have pubescent daughter following rite held so couple can eat salmon. Young men catch salmon; take it to home of old man "who uses cane"; this old man may be adolescent girl's grandfather. Old man's wife cooks the first fish, then old man prays over it for short time, facing sun and leaning on his cane; after this everyone present, except girl(s) nearing puberty, eats this first fish. For other salmon caught after first run, no prayers of this sort. Rite restricted to parents of girls entering puberty, not general practice. WM: Salmon plentiful in area. If leave first salmon in basket overnight, will not catch any more. WS: Salmon in area. No rites over first salmon, but in middle of summer, during July, people start fishing at nodaldohipom (Castle Crag depot, 5 mi. S of Dunsmuir) and fish up Sacramento River to Shasta Retreat across river from Dunsmuir. At every village on the way they dance; stay 3-5 days at each place; young people dance, "just for a good time at night as they make this trip; old people sleep. It takes them 2-3 weeks to make this trip; there may be 200-300 people on it. Camp at 3-5 different locations on way." MM: Few salmon in area; other varieties fish more abundant. MF: Salmon in area, more abundant. NF: No salmon nearer than Yuba River; sometimes go there to spear, net salmon. First salmon cooked, eaten at "dinner" by all. Salmon plentiful in Feather River, but NF group never went there to fish as this was in "another country." NM: No salmon or suckers in area; never go to Yuba River or Sacramento Valley to fish. Small fish, only, found in creeks in area; no large rivers in area; little emphasis on fishing, which is pursued in main with small flat gill net. NS: Salmon obtainable within area, in American River. No salmon caught until certain time in summer; first fish cooked, divided and eaten by all members of community, "for good luck." No comparable rite for any other variety of fish. MV: Salmon plentiful; first-salmon rite similar to first-acorn rite (see note 313).

226 787 283. K1: In spring old man (not shaman) catches first 2 suckers with nets at certain spot on Williamson River and throws them, alive, into fire which has been built on flat surface of deeply embedded rock near river. Fish burnt to foretell season's luck; "if they roll around when thrown in the fire, the people will have lots of fish; if they die quickly, quietly, there won't be many fish." Men, women, children gather at rock where rite held (only 1 place where this is done in whole of K1 area) and eat

226 first catch of suckers on spot. "If they don't
787 eat it all up there, people won't catch any more suckers." After these observances, all suckers caught can be transported home to be eaten, dried.

284. SW: Wait until Karuk give White Deerskin dance at end of July before eating steelhead (rainbow trout); if any steelheads caught in salmon net before Karuk dance given, they must be thrown back into river. Fishermen who disregard this rule are in danger of being killed.

292. MF: "Dreamer" or singing shaman.

294. Kl: First 2 suckers.

296. SW: First run taboo to adolescent girls.

226 299. Kl: Old man in charge of rite tells youth,
689 "Don't you pack those fish home on the first day; eat well; don't carry them around, or break their backbones." If youth disobeys, sticks bound from wrist to shoulder on boy's arms, and then bent upward and broken, thus breaking boy's arms at elbow; boy sometimes died. Any of old men present administer this punishment.

300. WM: See note 282.

Gathering

000 Gathering techniques and observances.--

300a. See note 357. AW: Pick up acorns from ground by hand; do not beat trees.

300b. Used to bend down limbs within hand's reach. MV: Obtained pine nuts at Lookout (in MF area); man intending to go for such, continent night before he starts. To obtain pine cones, he climbs tree, hooks branches with staff, cuts off cones.

301. Used to bend down limbs.

302. Used for whipping, knocking acorns and pine cones off limbs.

306. Branches left on pole, to serve as footholds. SW: Wrap grapevine around fir pole, or leave limbs on pole for footholds. AW: Native twine wrapped around sapling for foothold; limb left on sapling at upper end to serve as hook; pole hooked onto upper branches of tree, as climber progresses upward.

[222] 308. Kl, SW: Made of mountain mahogany.
[824] 311. SW: Iron bar across top end. AE: Use crutch-handled type mostly, but sometimes plain bipointed one as well.

312. Mo: Break or pull up entire plant of lamb's-quarters, pile plants on bare hard ground, and beat out seeds with long straight stick.

313. NS: Prepare meal for group, when first batch of any wild fruit gathered. Example, for manzanita berries, make large quantity of cider with first gathered berries, all drink. MV: Headman goes out and tests acorns for ripeness; tells people when they are ripe. His wife then goes out, secures 1 pack-basketful of acorns; dries them, and in about 6 days she is able to make 2 baskets of acorn mush from them. These she takes into assembly house; there members of secret society pray over mush and eat it; then everyone can go out and gather acorns.

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[94 1] [88 1] [78 3] 3587. NF: Ca. 10 years of age.

3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. NS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NF: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[94 1] [88 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE, At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] [53 9] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV: Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NF: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bat[illegible]d; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[88 1] [53 5] [77 7] [78 7] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

000 Eclipses; star lore.--

4558. SW: Solar eclipses only; "don't know anything about lunar eclipses."

4559. NP: New sun (woman) coming out.

4568. Mo: Tell Frog to doctor moon.

4569. AW: Old women only go out and chant to sun or moon during eclipse; "tell sun's, moon's own dog not to eat him."

4570. Bitches only.

4573. WM, WS: Cover food because sun is going to bleed.

4574. WS, NM: So they cannot see eclipse.

4575. SE: People afraid they are going to freeze to death. NM, NS: Build fire.

4577. SE, AW, MM: Sign of war. WS: Sign of bad weather.

4578. If large stars fall. Mo, SE, NP, NM, NS: Sign man living in direction star falls has died, or will die. AW: Sign of earthquake; denied for all other groups except SW, At. NP: Falling stars (sa·to) are "just like turkeys, coming down from sky to spring to drink, their head 1 way, tail the other. Come down into ground, just like sun; then they're gone. Sign of lots of sickness. If 2 large stars come down, sign of war starting."

[78 7
82 1]

4579. If small stars fall.

4585. Kl, Mo: White river. Kl: Canes grow on both sides of river, which forks near one end. MM: Creek.

4587. WS, NP, NS: If boys 6-7 look at it during any time of year, will give them bad luck for hunting later.

4588. NP, NS: All girls; would give them bad luck; spirit would frighten them in night. Cf. Voegelin, Tubatulabal, p. 58, people forbidden to count stars.

[821
763]

4589. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Sign of death of adult. SE: "When catches up to moon, sign world will end." SW: "Moon is listening [to star]; therefore someone is saying evil things about person, or will make trouble for person." At: "If star to left of moon, someone near by will die; if to right, person far off. AW: If star very close to moon, death will occur soon. WM: Sign of cold weather.

Rainbow.--

4591. Mo, AW, AE: See note 4592. WM: Sign suckers (fish) calling clouds to make it rain, because girl just after she has had first menstruation is walking close to river or spring "where she ought not to go." After clouds leave, rainbow appears. NP, NM, NS: If end of rainbow falls near village, this is sign that girl there has recently menstruated for first time.

4592. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow close to where girl dancing at puberty dance, unlucky for menstruant. Negatives for this trait obtained from all other groups except SW, At (not inquired into). Mo: If menstruant dreams of rainbow, sign evil spirit is trying to get her. Mo, AW, AE: If rainbow near by when baby is born, mother will be un-

000 to sacred spot (sauɛl) to seek power. "But for young boys, there's nothing in it. Some boys, 8-15 years old, go into dance house and dance for doctoring power. That's all."

4726. WM: Du Bois, Wintu, p. 80, states Coyote sauɛl is "1 type of sacred place used by women"; informant said that Coyote sauɛl "is man's sauɛl, where men go for luck." WS: Girls may seek for power during puberty dance, but "never go to any kind of sauɛl" to obtain power.

4726a. WM: Optional for individuals; obligatory for group.

4728. WM: Applies to group of boys; not to individuals.

4729. WM: Refers to individual questing.

4730-4734. WM: Refers to group questing. Individuals repeat quests.

4735. See elements 3218-3220, 4263, 4287, 4308.

[787] 4736. Kl, Mo: Depends at which localized spot seeker quests. Some springs give power for doctoring, others for luck in gambling, hunting, fishing, or fast running. AW: See note for 4736a. WM: Only rarely get doctoring power. See note 4722.

4736a. Hence it cannot be too strongly emphasized, for groups affirming this element, that undergoing vision quest for "luck" in hunting, gambling, racing, wrestling, tree climbing, fishing and acquiring shamanistic power are viewed as two distinct phenomena. SW: Informant explicitly stated that "going up into mountains for luck" entailed none of the obligations upon seeker that obtaining shamanistic power entailed; obligations after receiving latter were many. AW: Vision questing chiefly concerns obtaining power from guardian spirits for luck in gambling, hunting, and such; but if one obtains 10 of these spirits one "is bound to be a doctor." Besides having guardian spirits, however, shamans also have "pains" which came to them voluntarily; possession of pain is chief prerequisite for being a doctor. See notes 4804-4806. WT: Power for doctoring only rarely obtained on quest, however. See note 4722. WM: Refers both to individual questers and group of questers. No one "goes out on the mountains looking for doctoring power. The puisus [Achomawi] do, though." WS: See note 4725.

4737. At: Man or woman obtaining "luck" for hunting, gambling, and such "just dreams; sometimes he hears animal singing, in dream." No vision questing save for doctoring power. Informant used to dream where deer could be killed, until 3 men hired shaman to take her dreams away from her; now her dreams never tell her where deer are to be found.

4740. WM: Refers to group of boys seeking power; see note 4724.

[787] 4741. At, AE: Nasal septum also.

4743. Kl, Mo: See note 4736. SE: On mountain, but not at fixed localities. WT: At fixed localities, but not on mountain.

[787] 4747. SE: 4-6 days, nights. AW: 1-2. AE: 2-3.

4748. Kl, Mo: That is, seekers who are quest-

787 ing for shamanistic power. WM: Refers to group of boys questing; see note 4724.

4749. Kl, Mo: After birth of child, death of relative, also quest. WT, WM, WS: "Doctor dance" or shaman's initiatory dance is, among Wintu, group performance, undertaken to obtain guardian spirits by would-be shamans; it is not, as among other groups, dance which is held after guardian spirits have been obtained by prospective shamans.

4750. AW: 2-3 days.

4751a. AE, WS: 2-3. NP: Eats sparingly all the time.

4753. At: When boy up in mountains, he takes little rock, rubs it over his lips, and throws it away, as his parents have instructed him to do; "then he doesn't need to drink for a long time."

4756. WM: Refers to single questers and to group questers.

4756. AE: See also note 3247. WM: Refers to single and group questers.

[787] 4759a. AW, AE, WS: 2-3 days.

[777] 4764. Kl, SE: For luck in gambling.

[525] 4767. SE: See note 4768. AE: In myth, ant bites "good" or favored man; will not bite "common" or ordinary man.

4768. That is, luck in gambling, hunting, and such. SW: "If acquire 'luck,' all the power one carries is in one's arms or shoulders. If one has no luck, one's shoulder and arm are nothing; no power in them. If menstruant or woman under taboos eats meat hunter has shot she ruins his luck; then he has to obtain more before he can do anything again. That's when he goes into the little [steam] sweat house and cuts himself on his shoulder, to get the bad blood out from the spot where he carries his luck, and so he can get more luck there. This he gets by cooking the blood off his shoulder, or rubbing ants into cuts made where he has pricked his shoulder."

4769. Mo: To those seekers who obtain luck only (hunting, gambling, and such); "somebody speaks to them in a dream." Also "little" or "common" doctors, who cure by laying hands on patient, not sucking, dream their "medicine."

4770. Mo: Only persons receiving shamanistic power, bleed at mouth (not at nose).

4779. Doctor dance as form of vision seeking has been disregarded in this section; see note, Vision Seeking. WT, WM: Main form. WS: Only form for young men, girls.

4781. WT, WM: 1-3 days. WS: 2-5.

4785. AE, WS: 2-3 days.

4788. SW: Informant's father, who had "luck" (not shamanistic power) from Sun, never ate before sun-up, also prayed to Sun, with special formula, and offered Sun paint. WT: Youth, on return home from quest for "luck," uses stick spatula for eating; either paternal or maternal great-grandmother or grandmother, only, wait on him.

[240-A]

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. MS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] [776] [787] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman "interprets" what his spirit has told him to people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

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season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, and prepare for the long siege of winter.

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes—there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power, but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

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as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing they are the shaman's "helpers."

However differently they construe the degree of individual access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the universe appears basically to be a moral order.

In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee —to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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sect were permitted to make temporary use of the Shaker church building until their own structure could be erected. Tribal members were drawn into entrant fundamentalist sects as well as the Shaker faith, and on the occasion of revivals Shakers freely visited their services.

Together with some of those sects, the Shaker faith embodied many of the demonstrative acts, in dramatized testimonial, visions, and the inspired state known as "the shakes," which had been largely abandoned by other churches that had become more staid with the passage of time. Its cures were the most spectacular demonstration of its power, and many of its converts came to it in this way. At the same time, it drew no very large membership: in 1925, Spier found only twenty Klamath thus affiliated. Any claim to the exclusive allegiance of members—an aspect of the Christian heritage—made heavy way against the broad tolerance in things religious characteristic of the Klamath.

The member of the Indian police who had found favorably for the Shakers was cured by them on another occasion, rang bells in the services, and even sparked a drive to improve the appearance of the church. With equal concern, he contributed heavily to the Four Square Gospel mission, which he felt was beneficial to the "coming generation." His formal affiliation continued with the Methodist Church, and he was often in attendance at the Williamson River Mission. Nor did commitment to Christianity dim his evident belief in the validity of aboriginal Klamath religion. In his mind, and the minds of many other elderly Klamath, there was no need to select narrowly and exclusively a single revelation of the divine order on earth.

The fundamentalist churches—the "emotional" churches, as they were disparagingly dubbed by some white Methodists in Chiloquin—appealed primarily to whites and ethnic minorities of lower social status, and indeed participation in their services was a factor weighed in status evaluation. Accordingly, these sects brought tribal communicants into intimate contact with those components of the community providing the basis for a certain degree of acculturation as well as of intermarriage. A few of the Mexican Interethnic unions stemmed from these associations, and at least one white Interethnic couple was regularly affiliated with the Negro church.

The Shaker church, however, was an ethnic church of some

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Klamath (Jan. 8, 1871); J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (Jan. 31, 1871), report for January.

4. J. Meacham to A. B. Meacham, Supt. (March 8, 1871), report for February. See also Zakoji (1953), pp. 63–64. The fear of sub-chief Palmer, dying of consumption, that his body might be violated by a post-mortem autopsy, is expressive of the distrust with which the physician was sometimes regarded. O. C. Applegate to Captain D. J. Ferree (May 6, 1871); Ferree to Applegate (May 8, 1871). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

5. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), p. 199.

6. Dave Hill in Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 59, 62; his wife: Appendix below. It is an interesting commentary upon the relativity of viewpoint, that during Hill's disappearance from the lecture troupe, A. B. Meacham, brother of the Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, resorted to spiritualistic mediums in an effort to locate him. Meacham (1876), pp. 95 ff.

7. Henry Blow: "Tyee Blowe of Klamath on Doctors," Samuel A. Clarke ms.; Archives, University of Oregon Library, source as well for the quotation of n.5; Doctor John: Gatschet (1890), Pt. I, 64–68. The identification of the Susie of Gatschet with H. N.'s Aunt Sally is made by Zakoji (1953), p. 62. The letter of Allen David to Dave Hill and the reply of Skookum Doctor, reproduced in the Appendix, provide a direct illustration of Indian views of that period.

8. L. M. Nickerson to R. E. Trowbridge, Commr. (Jan. 1, 1881), report for preceding December.

9. Lindsay Applegate to [Judge James C.] Toleman (Feb. 1, 1883). O. C. Applegate *Papers*.

10. *Annual Report* . . . , U.S. 45th Cong., 3d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc. 1 (1878–79), Vol. 9, Pt. 5, 611.

11. L. M. Nickerson to H. Price, Commr. (Oct. 1, 1881), report for September.

12. H. N. in Zakoji (1953), pp. 200 ff.

13. Joseph Emery to W. W. Wilson, Supt. Yainax School (Feb. 5, 1897; March 13, 1897).

14. T. L. in Zakoji (1953), p. 258.

15. O. C. Applegate to Henry Jackson (Sept. 6, 1899); in *Annual Reports* . . . , U.S. 56th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. Exec. Doc. 5 (1899–1900), Vol. 18, 313. Nash (1937), p. 147, erroneously sets the event at about 1906.

16. Nash (1937), p. 431. The preceding material is summarized from pp. 412–35.

17. L. S. Dyar to T. B. Odeneal, Supt. (Nov. 6, 1872; June 7, 1873; June 16, 1873); in *Report* . . . , U.S. 43d Cong., 1st sess., H.R.

842 [p. 340A]

hopes to have many sons, but the inevitable is accepted philosophically.

843 The sex of the child is not entirely left to chance, for certain traditional precautions are taken. A man does not cut wood while his wife is pregnant lest she have a girl. He may also hang a tiny bow and arrow in his house to assure the birth of a boy. If a girl is born, the opposite sex may be assured for the next child by turning over the afterbirth.

844 The arrival of the first child is of special significance. It is said that at this time [821] there will be strong winds and thunder.[2] This [787] is also a propitious time for a man to seek supernatural power in the mountains. In spite [593] of the great importance attached to the birth of the first child there is nothing to indicate that he will be shown any favoritism. On the contrary, he will probably learn adult activities at an earlier age than his younger siblings and will be expected to assume a certain amount of responsibility in caring for younger children in the family.

At delivery, a soft pad is arranged to receive the child.[3] The umbilical cord is tied with the mother's hair and cut with an obsidian knife. The cord is buried when it drops off, or sometimes kept and wrapped in a piece of buckskin to be worn around the child's neck for luck. The navel is anointed with squirrel grease to hasten healing. As a general rule the afterbirth is disposed of at once by burial. Occasionally a woman throws the afterbirth away carelessly because she wishes to prevent future pregnancies.

846 The newborn baby is sponged off immediately with water, and the face and body are massaged and molded for the first time to conform to Klamath standards of beauty. He is kept beside the mother in the birth lodge during the four or five days of her seclusion. Once each day during this period the child is held over the heated rocks on which the mother lies, to insure his future health.

The infant is put to the breast a few hours after birth. The mother's nipples are squeezed and a hair worked around in them to start the 853 flow of milk. Thereafter the child is nursed whenever he cries. If the mother is unable to nurse her child, a wet nurse is called--generally a relative, but apparently any neighbor woman will do.

852 In many families presents are brought to the newborn child. A boy receives a tiny bow and arrow or small quiver, a girl a small digging stick or basket. These gifts are later hung from the hood of the child's cradleboard. As the presents are brought, a prayer or blessing is said "to encourage the child." Over a

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[2] Spier (1930), p. 55. None of our informants mentioned this.

[114] [3] The practices surrounding pregnancy, birth, and the care of the mother are described in detail by Spier, pp. 55 ff., and Voegelin (1942), elements 3007-3262.

224 868 [787] [721] after ducks in the canoes. A few informants said that boys give away for luck the first duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they will later give away their first deer. The hunting of deer and other large game is done only by grown men, especially those who have sought and received special supernatural power either at the time of puberty or later. The art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for the fully grown although much of the physical training of boys is directed toward building strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

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773 genius presiding over it. This genius is called Tchitchatszä'-ash or "Big
774 Belly;" he is represented to be an old man whose vigor of life is on the
821 decrease. When he leaves his lodge, his appearance embodies the rain-laden, dark-hued, thick nimbus clouds overhanging the earth. When his engine* comes into action, he attracts by it all the objects within reach, he oppresses the earth with his weight, and forces wayfarers to walk in other paths than they intended to travel lest they may incur danger to life. When he has spent his force by this wanton display, he is rent by a stroke of lightning or a strong gust of wind; he is dissolved into atoms, and the bones filling his big paunch, which had produced the rattling noise attending the course of whirlwinds, fall down to the ground. Tsáskai, the Weasel, the brother of Marten, wrestling with the old man and conquering him after a hard struggle, is the mythic agent who brings about his final discomfiture.

SPIRIT DEITIES.

Ἐκτέτμηαι φοβερὸν φάσμα, δείματι πάλλων.

775 No people has ever been discovered that did not believe in the return
774 of human souls after death to their former homes in the form of ghosts. Ghosts or spirits hovering through space are invisible and may inflict damage to anybody without danger of being recognized; therefore they usually inspire awe and terror, and wherever the existence of these fanciful beings is recognized imagination fills the earth, the atmosphere, and the waters with such spooks. Not all of these are necessarily supposed to be the souls of the deceased, but they may also represent the souls of animals, the spirits of mountains, winds, the celestial bodies, and so forth, for animism has its widest sway in this sort of superstition. Very different qualities are ascribed to each of these hobgoblins or spooks. They are either gigantic or dwarfish in size, powerful or weak in body, attractive or repulsive, of
[787] beneficial or wicked influence. They chiefly appear at night or in stormy weather; some are seen single, others in crowds, and a few of their number

[193] * Shū'kash is the substantive of sh'hū'ka *to whirl about*, this being the medial distributive form of hūka *to run about*: sh'huhóka, sh'hú·oka, sh'hū'ka "to run about by itself in various directions."

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775 can be perceived only by the trained eye of such as are initiated into the
776 conjurer's profession.

[787] The classes of specters mentioned more frequently than others in mythology are the spirits of the dead, and giants, dwarfs, and fairies.

775 *The Skō'ks*, or spirits of the deceased, occupy an important place in the psychologic marvels of the Klamath Indian, and are objects of dread and abomination, feelings which are increased by a belief in their omnipresence and invisibility. The popular idea of a ghost is suggested in all climates and historic epochs by that of a *shadow* of somebody's former self, and in several Indian languages the same word is used for *shadow*, *soul*, and *ghost*.* The proper signification of skō'ks, shkū'ksh is "what comes out of;" like skó'hs, skó *spring of the year;* it is derived from skóa *to come out of, to emerge from, sprout up.*

In the mind of the Indian the appearance of a skō'ks comes pretty near the popular idea of a witch or spook as held by the uneducated classes of our population. The soul of a man becomes a skúks as soon as the corpse has been buried or consumed by fire. It hovers in the air around its former home or the wigwams of the neighbors and at night-time only. Its legs hang down and produce a rattling noise, and the whole appears in a white or a black shade of color. Usually nobody sees them, they do not harm anybody, nor do they produce any dreams; they appear to the senses and sight of the living only when they come to presage death to them. They undergo no metempsychosis into animals or plants; after hovering awhile around their former homes they retire to the spirit-land in the sky, "some-
[787] where near K'múkamtch." Their arrival there is afterwards revealed by dreams to the surviving relatives, who express in songs what they have seen during their slumbers.

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* In the Tonika or Túniχka language of Louisiana télia or télia'htch signify *shadow*, *soul*, and *reflection in the water;* in the Cha'hta, State of Mississippi, shilámbish is *shadow* and *soul*, while a *ghost* is shílup. The Egyptian ka and the Greek εἴδωλον, the *soul* after death, really signify *image*, and to this we may compare the use made of the Latin *imago*. The Cherokees, as Mr. James Mooney informs me, distinguish between adántá *soul* in the living being, uᵃdali' secondary soul of an animal killed once before, and asgína an ordinary *specter*, *ghost* of malevolent disposition, which last term served the missionaries for transcribing the word "devil."

*539 343 515 765 193 192 the ground, both ends being bent over. The process gone through while sweating is the same in both kinds of lodges, with the only difference as to time. The ceremonies mentioned 82, 4–13., all refer to sweating in the mourners' sweat-lodges. The sudatories of the Oregonians have no analogy with the *estufas* of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, as far as their construction is concerned. Cf. *Notes* to 70, 1. 75, 11.

82, 1. lápa spû'klish, two sweat-lodges, stands for two *kinds* of sweat-lodges.

82, 5. shashámoks-lólatko forms *one* compound word: one who, or: those who have lost relatives by death; cf. ptísh-lûlsh, pgísh-lûlsh; hishuákga ptísh-lúlatk, male orphan whose father has died. In the same manner, kĕlekátko stands here as a participle referring simultaneously to híshuaksh and to snáwedsh wénuitk, and can be rendered by "*bereaved*". Shashámoks, distr. form of shá-amoks, is often pronounced sheshámaks. Túmi etc. means, that many others accompany to the sweat-lodge, into which about six persons can crowd themselves, bereaved husbands, wives or parents, because the deceased were related to them. Cf. lĕ'pk'leya, lĕ'pk'lekatko.

82, 6. Shiúlakiank etc. For developing steam the natives collect only such stones for heating as are neither too large nor too small; a medium size seeming most appropriate for concentrating the largest amount of heat. The old sweat-lodges are surrounded with large accumulations of stones which, to judge from their blackened exterior, have served the purpose of generating steam; they weigh not over 3 to 5 pounds in the average, and in the vicinity travelers discover many small cairns, not over four feet high, and others lying in ruins. The shrubbery around the sudatory is in many localities tied up with willow wisps and ropes.

82, 10. Spukli-nápka mă'ntch means that the sweating-process is repeated many times during the five days of observance; they sweat at least twice a day.

Luátpîshla snéwedsh m'na.

LAMENT OVER A WIFE'S LOSS.

Obtained from Dave Hill in the Klamath Lake Dialect.

*539 765 787

Snáweds k'leká. Tsúi tsik shpótû hissuáksûk, pä'wa tsúi, pä'nĕ
A wife dies. Upon this strengthens himself (her) husband alone, plunges then, again

mákual, sta-ótank kaítua pát; tsúi tûtí'χ yaínatat tû'tshna. Tsúi shlaá
camps out, famished nothing eats; then (he) dreams, (and) on the mountains he does. Then he sees

máklaks, tûtí'χ hûnk ná-asht; tsúi gă'mpĕle ládsashtat, tsúi psín hûshtí'k- 3
people, dreams (he) thus; then he returns to (his) lodge, and at night he frequently

tamna, tsúi shlă'popk, tsúi at shlă'popk siunotí'sh tchkash. Tsúi at shuí'sh
dreams, and has visions, and then he has hallucinations of (female) chorusses also. And magic songs

hû'k nă'sht ki: "tchă'kĕli gékanuapka, súmat tsúk at géka tchákĕle"! tsúi
these then say: "blood will come up, to the throat in time comes up blood"! then

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 765 787 huk tchékĕl' a gépka. Tsúi wéwan'sh gûlĭ' winŏ'tnish; shashuakĭ'sh tchĭ'sh,
the blood come up. Then women enter who form chorus; people who call the conjurer too,
lutatkĭ'sh tchish, shuashuáktchish matchatgĭ'sh tchish gulĭ' látchashtat
the song-repeater too, bewailers, listeners also enter lodge
3 m'nn.
his

NOTES.

[178] The ascetic performances and ceremonies here described are going into disuse at the present time. When they were fully observed, the bereaved husband wandered alone through the woods and wilds (spótu) for five days, but to the widow these observances extended over a shorter time. For this purpose both sexes wore warm clothing, but took to worn-out blankets or old articles of raiment, and used wisps of the serviceberry-bush as belts.

[192] [526] **83**, 1. shpótû: strong and unusual bodily exercise, running up hill, plunging etc. was and is still considered beneficial to the body, and is much in favor with the Indians. Cf. **82**, 10. 11.

[192] [193] **83**, 1. hisnúksûk for híshuakah ak; the husband *alone*, not in company of others; pä'nĕ for pä'n a, pēn a, cf. átĕnen for át a nen; and sĕ for sha, they, **82**, 4.

83, 2. ka-ítua pát or p'át: he eats nothing at the time while wandering; pánk, p'ánk might stand here instead of pát; tû'tshna: for dozing they did not lie down, but tried to catch a little sleep while walking and wandering.

83, 2. shlaá, and tchákĕle **83**, 5, forms sometimes used in conversation instead of shläá, shleá; tchĭ'kĕle, tchékĕli. Cf. yáka for yä'ka, yéka: *Note* to 16, 10.

83, 3. hûshtĭ'ktamna; the suffix -tamna shows that pshín stands for nánuk pshĭ'n gĭ'sh: "nightly, every night."

83, 4. siunŏ'tish and shuĭ'sh are both tamánuash-songs, but of a different character. See Dictionary. Shlä'popka: he sees in his dreams what he has heard mentioned in the songs. To sing or repeat songs started by the conjurer devolves almost exclusively on the women present at the ceremony.

83, 5. súmat: into the mouth; their blood, disturbed by the constant excitement produced by the night rambles, ascends to the throat, and is sometimes spit out by them.

84, 2. shuashuáktchish. By their loud and noisy lamentations (shuáktcha, to cry, to weep) they expect to avert from the bereaved husband the effects of the tamánuash-spell (shuĭ'sh) which he has seen in his dreams.

84, 2. matchátgish: those listening to the words uttered by the conjurer and his repeater or expounder; they are of both sexes and also act as bewailers.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

000 Meacham has given several of these concretionary products of the uncultivated Modoc mind. In making a study of aboriginal mythology and folklore such fictions must be disregarded, though they may be of interest to psychologists.

IV. Races in an undeveloped, primitive state of mind are prone to regard living animals as the abodes of spirits, and most frequently the wild and carnivorous quadrupeds are believed to harbor wicked spirits. These are either elementary spirits, or the ghosts of deceased persons. To see a spirit means death, and in their terrified state they often behold, as here, the spirit in a half human, half beastly appearance, when coyote-wolves, gray wolves, bears, cougars etc. come in sight. Such a sight can cause the instant death of the hunter, or deprive him of his reason, or make him sick for months. In Greek and Roman mythology, Pan, the Satyrs and the Fauns retain something of these primitive notions (in the panic terror etc.), though these genii were largely idealized in the later periods of national development. In every nation a relatively large amount of superstitions refers to hunting and the chase of wild beasts.

128, 9. Tanktchi'kni is in fact an adjective, not an adverb; literally, it means "those who existed, or hunted since that time", and is composed of tánk, a while or time ago, tchēk, finally, and the suffix -ni. Cf. 13, 2. 128, 1.

SKŪ'KS-KIÄ'M.

HUMAN SOULS METEMPSYCHOSED INTO FISH.

GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

I.

*539 775 787 825

Ká-i hû'nk shlä' at kanî kiä'mat skû'kshash. Hû'k ptl únk shlä't
Not can see anybody in a fish a dead man's spirit. Dead men only can see

shkū'ks; ptl máklaks hû'k shlä't skū'ks. Hushtî'zak tsä'taks nî'sh, sî'uks
spirits; only dead Indians can see spirits. He makes dream only (about deceased) but if me, to kill (me)

tchē'k sanahō'li hûk, wakíanua shuisháltki tchä bants' gíug nûsh. Hä'toks 3
then he wants, or perhaps to keep the song-medicine because he wants me. If

nî' shläát k'läkátak nî; hä n' û'nk shläát skū'ks-kiäm, hä n' û'nk shläát
I should see (the dead), might die I; if I it should see, the spirit-fish, if I him should see

máklaks hû'nk skō'ks tchî'sh, k'lakát n' û'nk shlä-ók; wakiánua hissúnuk
the dead person the spirit also, may die I, him for having seen; or perhaps if song-medicine is applied,

tchätch nî'sh ká-i siû'gat. Hû'masht hû'nkash shlä-úkit nä'd máklaks, 6
then me not he may kill. Therefore him if should see we Indians,

hû'k tchîsh kiä'm, kat gēk wá; ká-i hû'nk shläát hû'nkesh kiä'mat
the dead also (would appear as) a fish. which there lives; not I can see it in the fish

skókshash.
the dead man's spirit.

II.

*539 775 787 825 Kiä'm k̲'leká tchû'shni; tsúyunk hû'ksa tsóχatk pî'l kiä'm, nánuktua
Fish remain dead forever; therefore those dead (people) (exist) only as fish, as all kinds of
kiä'm, nánuktua máklaksni tsók̲atk. Hä' n' hû'nk hû'nkiash shläät skû'k-
fish, all kinds of Indians dead. If I (of a deceased) should behold the
3 shash, k̲'läkát ni hû'nk släók; hä'toks ni shuíshaltk, tchēk gíug k̲á-i
spirit, would die I it through seeing; but if I rescue to magic songs, then not
siúgat nia.
he may kill me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating
[262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the wave, even
*539 when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, 775 the Máklaks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of 787 living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore 192 cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to
[755] die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pîl máklaks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushtî'χak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushtî'χa uk nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine
[756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläät etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

*539
775 the souls of all dead Indians continue to exist in the living fish, in all kinds of *living*
787 fish only."
[192] 130, 2. tsóɣatk. This refers to Indians who have perished by a violent death, as well as to those who died in the natural way.

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*539
773

THE SPELL OF THE LAUGHING RAVEN.

[115]

GIVEN BY "CAPTAIN JIM" IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

I.

Shúyuɣalkshi tchúyunk É-ukshikni máklaks hátokt shuyúɣĕla, túmi
At "dance-place" when the Klamath Lake people there pipil-danced, many
hûk hátokt máklaks gi. K'múkamtch hátokt a géna. Tchúi Ká-akamtch
there people were. K'múkamtch there went. Then Old Raven
shash hátokt wétanta shûyûɣalpksh, tchúi hû ktá-i k'lä'ka pánuk máklaks 3
at them there laughed when they danced, and rocks became all people
shúyukaltk hátokt.
dancing there.

II.

Yámakni hû'k Káyutchish gátpa Kl'uti kúitit; tchúyunk l'-uag
From the North Gray Wolf arrived Klutl above; then he stopped
shkû'lɣa káyak tchi'sh gátpĕnunk, nánuk shûlû'tamantk hátkok yámnash 6
(and) lay down not yet home having reached, in full dress at that spot beads
(to sleep),
wáwakshnatk tchish; túla tchish hû'k gákatpantk l'uag sha hû'nk tû'kĕlɣa.
with moccasins on too; together with (him) those coming stopped they (and) rested.
Tchúi Sháshapamtch hû'nk gáldsha-uyank Ké-utchiamtchash skû'lpkank
Then Old Grizzly approached Old Gray Wolf lying (and)
ktámpsh. Tchúi Sháshapamtch pálla Ke-utchíshash wákshna yámnash 9
asleep. And Old Grizzly stole from Gray Wolf the moccasins beads
tchish shûlû'dshnank wû'kshɣĕn génuapkug. Tchúi Ke-utchíamtch
also, (and) put them on, to the fishing-place for going. Upon this Old Gray Wolf
sɣishû'lank kti'ukuela Sháshapamtchash; vud'hitakuéla ktáyat pállapksh
waking up threw down hill the Old Grizzly; he rolled (him) down over the rocks for having robbed
pásh wákshna yámnash tchish. Tchúi hû'nk shíuga pl Sháshapamtchash, 12
him of moccasins beads also. Then killed he the Old Grizzly.
tchúi É-ukshikni máklaks shellualtámpka Yámakishash, Sháshapamtchash
whereupon the Klamath Lake people commenced fighting the Northerners, (because) Old Grizzly
hûnk Kä'-utchishash shíugsht. Tchúi Ká-akamtch wétanta shash shél-
by Gray Wolf had been killed. Then Old Raven laughed at them when
lualpksh, ktá-i sha k'léka. 15
fighting, and rocks they became.

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*539 773 825 823 text is far from being complete. It refers to a locality above the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, called Ktaítini, or "Standing Rock". A high rock stands there at the edge of a steep hill, and, according to the legend, the Indians who put pitch on their head were changed into that rock. Near by, a lumber-dam looking like a beaver-dam, across the Williamson River, partly resting on rocks projecting from the bottom of the river. K'múkamtch longed for the destruction of this dam, muddied the water to prevent the Indians from fishing and hired the loon to destroy the objectionable structure. The loon dived into the waters and forced its way through the dam by main strength. The Indians dwelling on the shore depended for their living on the fisheries, and seeing their existence at stake tried to gig the loon, but succeeded only in hitting its tail-feathers. When the loon had accomplished his task K'múkamtch offered to reward him in any manner wished for. The loon then wished to have white spots on its back, and K'múkamtch satisfied the request by spitting chalk upon the downy surface of its body.

132, 3. lúeluak; formed by vocalic dissimilation; cf. *Note* to 114, 3.

BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

I.

*539 825 Wásh tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lû'la wásham tχû'tχash.
Prairie-wolf is soothsayer; and they believe in wolf's prophecy.

787 763 Máklaks hû'nk lû'la wásham pákluipkash k'lékuapkaht tchō'k; tχu'-
Indians believe, prairie-wolf when howls, they will die after a while; pre-

tχuk pákluipka. 3
saying he howls.

Máklaks hû'nk lû'la púshish hä'masht i-unégshtka, tχû'tχuk héma;
Indians believe, the cat when cries just after sunset, for presaging death it mews;

tchíkí'n tchish hä'masht i-unégshtka gû'lu, tχû'tχuk tchāk hä'ma. Wátchag
the chicken also when crows just after sunset the female, for presaging death them it crows. The dog

tchí'sh wawá-a i-unégshtka, kú-i tchämlûk. 6
also (when) whines right after sunset, the signs are bad.

*539 [682] Watság tchí'shtat tχótχa i-unä'gshtka; tsúi gátpa máklaka, gû'lki ngé-
A dog at a lodge howls prophetically just after sunset; then comes an Indian, attacks, wounds

isha at hustsō'χa. Sa-ámoks hátokt tchía tû'sht hushtchō'χa, ká-i hûnk
and kills (the owner). A relative, (who) there lived right where the murder was, did not him

shiúga; tsúi tû'tûk spû'nshna lû'gshla vû'nsh sχéna witsû'ls éna tû'tuk 9
kill; then seizing (him) they arrest, enslave him, the canoe row away, fishing-net carry with them taking

ktsí'k, snáwedsh spû'nshna híssuaks shíukaluk. Kilû'sh at kétak a
ears, his wife they abduct, (her) husband being the murderer. Furious he quite and

tsä'wik.
is demented

*539 Ḵák tχû'tχatkish; tsúi sa lúluk sa ḵákam tχû'tχatkash, tsúi sa
A raven is a soothsayer; and they believing the raven's repeated prophecy, they
825 shenótanka; pits hû'nk pán ḵák máḵlaks.
787 fight each other; it also eats, the raven, (dead) men.

787 Tutíksh máḵlaks shuína tchû'χapkam m'nálam shashámoksham;
Dreams the natives sing about dead their relatives;
húmasht sháhunk gíug kíukayunk flags.
for this same reason they stick out flags.

525 Tmélhak gítko shaklō'tkish tídsh tínχa; tû'm íχaga. Tmélhak tā'dsh
A tmélhak-squirrel having, the gambler well succeeds; much he wins. The tmélhak (is) certainly
777 825 sháyuaks; shakálshtat laḵí, tíds sualaliámpkatko.
of much account; in the game (it is) chief, well managing (it).

Tcháshash mû'na lushántsnank mbáwa skī's; tsúi máḵlaks nánuk
The skunk deep down while scratching a hole omitted a blast; upon this people all
825 hushtsóga tsáshash-kíuks. Snáwedsh shanahóliuk spû'nshna p'laiwásham
killed the skunk-conjurer. A wife seeking he carried off the eagle's
9 tû'paks ktanápkash. Shléank tchawíka p'laíwash, wí-udsna ánkutka
sister when asleep. Seeing (this) became furious eagle, beat with a club
tchásĕs, wí-udsish ḵ'läká, tsúi ḵó-i pílui. Ndopóg ktsō'l hämetsípka:
the skunk, the beaten one died, then badly stunk. Smelling (it) the stars said:
"pátkal!" at p'laíwash pátkalp'le, stópatchka, tsúi gémpĕle túpakshash
"get up!" and eagle rose up again, washed the face, then went home sister
12 m'na énank.
his taking with him.

II.

*539 Hä shaklō'tkish pī'sham shnû'lash ntággal, shaklō'tkish tídsh vumī',
If a gambler of humming-bird the nest finds, (and) the gambler well hides (it) away,
525 825 777 ḵaítoks kaní vuinī'χi. Hä kó-e shléa pahápkash, pē'tch ktákta skä'tish
not any one conquers (him). If a frog he finds dried-up, the leg he cuts off left
15 tapī'dshnish vumī'; húmashtak shû'ta shaklō'tkish, ḵaítoks kaní vuinī'χi.
hind (leg), hides away; (if) thus acts the gambler, (then) not any one beats (him).
Hä kaní tchatchlaíptcha shlä'-a (kinkáni tût wá), tídsh tī'nχa. Hä kaní
If any one a kind of fire-bug finds (scarce there they are), good luck it brings. If any one
mā'ntchnish máḵläksām shtáp shuálka, pahápkash käíla-shushatī'shash
old-fashioned Indian arrow-head saves, dried-up a mole
18 tchī'sh, hû'kt humáshtak tídsh tī'nχa tchī'sh.
also, he in the same way well succeeds also.

171 É-ukshikni Mō'dokni lóla p'laikī'shash láḵiash, shtínta tchish wengáp-
The Klamath Lakes (and) Modocs believe in the heavenly ruler, revere also of the de-
776 769 kam shkō'kshash.
ceased the spirits.

000 21 Mō'dokni shtûpuyúka túnäpni wäíta túnäpni pshín gshiúlaḵa káyak
The Modocs at first menstruation five days (and) five nights dance never
ktákt'nan; wewánuish ta-unä'pni wäíta ḵá-i tchû'lēks pán.
sleeping; the females for ten days no meat eat.

*539 Hä' î shma-'htcháktak yaínatat, k̲á-i î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak; hä'-atoks
If you let your shadow fall on the hill, not you ipo will find; but if
[787] î k̲á-i shma-'htcháktak, tû'm î ûn k̲ésh shlé-etak.
you not let your shadow fall, much you ipo will find.

000 Móatuash, k̲'le-ugtkiuápkasht tchíalash Móatuashăm k̲ók̲etat, k̲á-i mhû' 3
The Pit River Indians, (lest) would cease to come the salmon up the Pit River, not grouses

lúela skó; Mō'dokni tchî'sh lóla shuátash kíăm tchûk̲á shátma, humásht-
they kill in spring time; the Modoc also assume, sage-hens the fish to swim up stream invite, there-

gisht k̲á-i lúela.
fore not they kill (them).

NOTES.

*539 171 I. What is contained in these short items refers equally to the Klamath Lake and to the Modoc people, although those contained under I. were obtained from various informants belonging to the former chieftaincy.

[192] 133, 2. páka to howl, bark; pák'la to howl repeatedly, to howl for a while; pák-luipka to howl for a while in the distance towards somebody.

[177] [231] 133, 4. 5. The cat and the chicken being but recently introduced among these tribes, this superstition must have been transferred to them from other animals. By inversion, the words tchíkin gû'lu, *the hen*, appear here widely separated from each other.

[192] 133, 6. K̲ú-i tchämlûk has to be resolved into: k̲ú-i tchē mál (for málash) hú'k: "bad then for you this is!" Cruel fights will follow.

133, 7–11. This story is not clearly worded, but we are taught by it how these Indians are conversing among each other with laconic breviloquence. An Indian living in the vicinity has heard the whining of the dog which means death to his owner. He goes there, shoots the man and takes to his heels. A relative of the murdered man comes up and is mistaken by others for the murderer. They deprive him of his wife, his property and his liberty; he becomes a madman on account of the injustice done to him.

[825] 134, 1. 2. The raven (k̲ák̲) is supposed to be a bird of fatal augury, because he was seen devouring the flesh of dead Indians. Compare: General *Note* on page 130.

[202] 134, 4. kíukayunk. They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised *flag* on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.

[525] [825] 134, 5. One of the legs of a dead black tmélhak-squirrel is cut off and laid under the gaming-disk or the pá'hla to insure luck to the player.

134, 7–12. Tcháshăsh etc. This is a fragmentary extract of a scurrilous skunk-myth, which I have not been able to obtain in full from my informant, the Modoc chief Johnson, who speaks the Klamath dialect. This myth is well known through the whole of Oregon, for parts of it are embodied in a popular and melodious song of the Mólale tribe, whose ancient home is the country east and southeast of Oregon City and Portland.

134, 7. 8. mák̲laks nánuk is the direct object of hushtsóga; the skunk killed them by his stench.

[601] 134, 9. tû'paks stands for tû'pakshash; túpakship, abbreviated túpaksh, is properly the younger sister, as called by or with reference to an elder brother, while pa-ánip

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

To treat aboriginal Klamath religion under three headings of shamanism, power quest, and cosmology is patent oversimplification. In nature and content these features formed an integrated configuration reflecting a major cultural preoccupation. It is true that the shaman in each community played a dominant role and in his capacity as curer, magician, and entertainer commanded the utmost in social prestige. On the other hand, as was common in western North America, every individual, at puberty and thereafter, deliberately and repeatedly sought contact with a variably defined spirit world. Thus Klamath culture had a variation of the American Indian guardian-spirit theme. Less specifically formalized, and so perhaps, less well integrated, were the elements of myth and tale, the rationalizations for the presence of various natural phenomena, for eschatology, and for the general conception of the universe. Like adjacent tribes, the Klamath interested themselves in animal spirits. These were of particular importance in providing shamanistic power. In the individual power quest, however, the sources from which spiritual forces emanated were less specifically defined. A rather wide range of supernatural powers was recognized, some being animals, some vaguely anthropomorphic, others relating to such natural features as mountains, streams, rocks, or even landmarks like Crater Lake. In respect to these forces an involved folklore has arisen which allows some classification of the Klamath concepts of the supernatural. In this realm, for example, are views about the abode of the dead and the nature of ghosts and souls, these being carefully differentiated from nonhuman spirits.[3] Here too is a body of myth relating to superhuman dwarf men and women, to the forces in specific places or natural phenomena in the Klamath terrain, and finally, the most important for this discussion, to the culture hero, the anthropomorphic Kemu'kemps.[4]

Kemu'kemps, while not usually identified with an animal spirit, has many characteristics suggesting the folklore regarding Coyote in the Plateau-Basin. He is at once creator and trickster, angrily forbidding in some contexts, indifferent in others, and in still others a ludicrous buffoon.

Essentially human in conceptualization (a myth complex relating to a human hero also occurs in adjacent regions), Kemu'kemps is sometimes identified with the marten, whose younger brother is weasel, and with the winds.[5] In the myths assembled by Gatschet, he constantly rivals his magically born son 'Ayšiš, whose destruction he repeatedly plans, often with the result of encompassing his own. Weather, such as rain or heat, was also attributed to him. Kemu'kemps is also the creator, and there are numerous folktales which tell how he brought various locations into being. At his instigation,

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1939), cf. 145-149; Erminie Voegelin, *Culture Element Distributions: Northeastern California* (Anthropological Records, 7: 2, Berkeley, 1942).

[3] Spier, 1930, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Cf. Albert Samuel Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (U. S. Geological Survey, Contributions to North American Ethnology, Washington, 1890), pt. 1, lxxix-lxxxv, and pt. 2, 138-140. A summary is also given by Spier, 1930, loc. cit.

[5] Gatschet, 1890, pt. 1, lxxxii-iii.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word */ɨuw'i·s/* meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Other informants also give a hint of this attitude. Even where there is sophistication by virtue of education or long-time residence away from the group, one encounters statements like that of a woman, half-Klamath, half-Caucasian: "Those old Indians had a lot of sense. They kind of felt at home around here and they would get a lift just from talking to the mountains and lakes. It was like praying and it made them feel at peace. When I get up in the morning, I look first over there [at Mt. Pitt] and it makes me feel good too. Not that I pray in the old Indian way; that's just idolatry. But it's like the scenery kind of gets ahold of you even if I been seeing it all my life."

A possible indication of this attitude appears in the repeated warnings to children to avoid certain rocks and cliffs. "You might fall down and hurt yourself" is of course quite true; on the other hand, places about which some modern Klamath parents feel particularly uneasy were associated aboriginally with power sources. A strong drive in the past was fear that a child might be harmed through contact with "power." Every effort was made to keep the child away from the shaman, the sweat lodge, the mourning place, and the like. (It may be noted that menstrual blood was placed near the cradled child to negate forces whose mere presence could harm the inexperienced.) These attitudes toward nature and the surrounding natural phenomena, at least as sources of uneasiness, still exist among younger Klamath of today.

Also obtainable is evidence on attitudes toward the culture hero. Some offer a rational systematization of beliefs concerning him. Generally, this involves some interpretation in the light of Christian reasoning. Kemu'kemps, because of his essentially human characteristics, readily lends himself to identification with the Christian God. The middle-aged woman quoted above, struck by the linguistic parallels, notes: "Those old Indians were really Christians. It's only the liquor around here that makes the unbelief and trouble. Kemu'kemps means the 'Old One'; that's God. He revealed himself to the Indians long before the Americans [sic] came. He had a son, too, 'Ayšiš, that's just like Jesus. He created the world, just like it says in the Bible. If only those old Indians had been able to see it, they were close to God all the time. They lived good upright lives under his guidance. Another word for Kemu'kemps in our language is *Playtul'kni·;* that means the 'One on High,' 'Somebody up there.' That's the name we give God in our language now. It's all the same."

Not all informants are so definite in their syncretism. One elderly woman remarked: "Who is Kemu'kemps? I don't know. Sometimes I think he's God, but sometimes I think he must be Devil. Maybe he was just a story the old Indians made up. But they called him Playtul·kni· and that means God. My grandson asked me, 'Gramma, who's Kemu'kemps?' I say, 'I don't know. Maybe he's like God.' " In another connection she remarked: "I think that Kemu'kemps is Devil. He gets people into trouble; he leads them into temptation. When I was a little girl, they said to me, 'He's no good; don't believe that any more.' But I don't know. I see the icicles and I think of the wind and Kemu'kemps. He made the world and they call him Playtul'kni·. The Devil

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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Concluding Remarks in English

"He said that whenever someone was killed in front of them they had to jump into their place. Oh, he said he sure was scared! He was with those white soldiers fighting the Modocs in the Lava Beds."

Mrs. Butler adds: "He told how they had to go to the war, because they (the white people) told them that they'd take all the Klamath Indians away, if they didn't go. All those who went were related, since they didn't want them to take anybody away. Others, some of them, refused and took their canoes across to Pelican Bay. Some did not want to get into the war. One man, a good shot, said, 'I'm not going. I'm going to die! They can kill me right here. I don't want to go.' But they never took him."

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29. Menstruation Practices
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 841

(1) When a woman has her menstrual period, she does not come to eat because of menstruation. (2) [She] does not eat with us. (3) [She] does not bathe, does not get wet. (4) [She] will not get chilled. (5) [She] does not feel well, and does not put her hand in water.

30. The Second Coming
(Mrs. Pansy Ohles)

539* 776 787

(1) According to God's promise [lit. "rule"]. (2) All the earth will burn up. (3) And at that time God will return again.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 145]